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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

JOHN GULICK

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A. IRVING HALLOWELL

Editor

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In Grateful Memory

of

EARNEST ALBERT HOOTON

1887—1954

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PREFACE

[ix] THIS work is an analysis of the salient findings of a community study in Lebanon which I conducted from early January to late July 1952. During this period I lived in the village, although frequent brief absences were necessitated by teaching commitments at the American University of Beirut. In May 1953 I submitted to the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy a dissertation of which the present monograph is a revised and partly rewritten version.

000 Research in social anthropology in the Middle East, in comparison to other parts of the world, is at the present time limited in extent. Consequently, there are few precedents to follow, and the procedure of trial and error is necessarily at a maximum. In some respects research under such conditions is an exhilarating experience, but by its nature it also involves periods of depression and discouragement. It is therefore a pleasure to record here those persons whose assistance, in some cases, was indispensable, and who, in all cases, made my task easier than it otherwise would have been.

The Department of Anthropology of Harvard University was generous in its contribution of funds for the research project. Collectively, the entire staff of the Department lent the project their support, but I wish to mention in particular the late Professor Earnest A. Hooton whose interest and encouragement were constant; Professor Clyde Kluckhohn who directed the field work with care under the difficult circumstances of a separation of some 7000 miles; Professor Douglas L. Oliver who was adviser in the preparation of the original dissertation; and Professor John C. Pelzel who, together with Drs. Kluckhohn and Oliver, examined and accepted (not without useful comment and criticism) the dissertation.

President Stephen B. L. Penrose of the American University of Beirut graciously made the facilities of the institution available to me immediately upon my arrival in Lebanon, and various members of the university staff were at all times considerate and helpful.

Dr. William D. Schorger generously permitted the use of certain material from his unpublished doctoral dissertation.

The following persons assisted me in such a variety of ways in all phases of the work that I must be excused from itemizing them: Mr. M. I. Alamuddin; Dr. and Mrs. Charles W. Churchill; Dr. Carleton S. Coon; Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth A. Christiansen; the Reverend J. Franklin Ewing, S. J.; Dr. W. B. Fisher; Mrs. A. Corey Gulick; Mrs. John Gulick; Mr. and Mrs. Adams S. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. Alwyn Holm; Mr. and Mrs. Alan W. Horton; Dr. Edward E. Hunt, Jr.; Mr. Kaplan

600 Lewis; Dr. M. B. Sanders; Dr. and Mrs. William D. Schorger; Mr. and Mrs. David Storry; Dr. Afif I. Tannous, and Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Williams. To all I express my thanks and gratitude.

And now I must especially wish to say a few words for the people of al-Munsif, some of whom will certainly read this work. As Arabs, their hospitality in countless everyday circumstances is famous. In the case of this research project, they not only proved that their reputation is well deserved under ordinary circumstances, but they also proved that they could extend their hospitality in a most unusual circumstance as well. In an era of extreme international tension, they accepted into their midst for a lengthy period of time a person who was not only a stranger but also a foreigner with foreign ways who asked interminable questions. For this they have my praise and admiration. Many people in the village were of assistance in answering my questions, in discussing matters generally, in aiding me in making maps, and in opening the doors of their homes to me. I cannot mention them all by name but must limit my personal acknowledgments to just a few whose help was of primary importance. To Mrs. Ajieh Na'man Fusyha I first explained the purpose of my study. She introduced me to Mr. Jamil Khuri Abi-Faris who, in turn, introduced me into the village itself; to the mayor, Mr. Elias Ghusn; and to his parents, the Reverend Jurjis Abi-Faris and his wife who, with patience and good humor, fed me at their table and were among my chief informants. My hearty thanks go to all.

From the very beginning of the study I explained to the members of the village that my purpose among them was scholarly research in the interest of greater understanding among the people of different nations. I also said that I hoped that some day what I had learned would be presented in a book. This is that book. It represents my best efforts, but neither they nor the book can be perfect. Those matters which are presented in it as being facts are the truth as I understood it from what I was told and from what I saw. Yet it is possible that I did not accurately understand many of the things I heard and saw. It is very possible, in addition, that there are many things in the life of the village about which I did not know at all but which some people may think should have been included in this work. For such errors and omissions, if such there be, I hope I may be forgiven, for they were not intended. Other matters which are discussed in this work are interpretations of the facts as I understand them, and they are the result of careful thought. It is possible that some readers may not agree with them. To such readers I can only say that I hope that my interpretations of the life and problems of the village and of its place in the Arab World will be accepted in the spirit in which they are offered, which is an abiding good will for a great and noble people.

JOHN GULICK

Garden City, New York
August, 1954.

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INTRODUCTION

CCC THE Middle East is the everyman's land which lies at the junction of Africa, Asia, and Europe. To the extent that Western laymen know it at all, their "knowledge" of it all too often consists largely of romanticized half-truths, exaggerations born either of day-dreams or of over-emphasis on certain aspects of life, and out-and-out fables. The Middle East has long been a fabulous place to Westerners, and it will probably remain so, but there are good reasons why it and the life of its people should not remain "mysterious" or "inscrutable." They need not remain so if answers are found to properly formulated questions. This is easier said than done, but it is not impossible.

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The history of the area is too long and eventful, and its culture is too complex, to be reviewed here. Information on these topics is readily available in such sources as Brockelmann (1947), Hitti (1946, 1951), and Coon (1951). One fact, however, needs to be pointed out. During the past hundred and fifty years, European and American political, economic, religious, and philanthropic interests have set in motion in the Middle East a process of culture change which has gathered considerable momentum in recent years. Some of the lines of change—for example, in education and new orientations in health, hygiene, and economics—have been the conscious goals and direct results of one or more of the foreign interests. Others, such as nationalism and the rise of political parties, have been indirect and unforeseen reactions to the activities of these interests.

Since the first World War, and ever increasing in intensity since then, the processes of culture change already set in motion have been complicated and augmented by two additional factors. (1) Nearly all the efficient techniques of transportation and communication which have been developed in the West have been introduced into the Middle East. As a result, the region is being flooded with many varieties of western ideas and artifacts, often regardless of their quality and torn from their cultural matrix. The confusion which this causes can be rather painful to experience and to observe. (2) This confusion is compounded by the fact that among the western ideas which reach the Middle East are those which clearly reveal the confusion which the West itself is undergoing as a result of the tremendous changes which its culture has not yet assimilated. Many of these ideas arrive in the form of emotionally charged propaganda.

Large numbers of people in the Middle East do not attempt to analyze objectively the nature of these alien culture elements (many of which are confronting them with demands for their allegiance), but they are, nevertheless, vitally

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interested in them. However, since they usually lack anything but a very superficial knowledge of Western cultures, they grossly oversimplify them, and they interpret, accept, or reject them in accordance with their various passions and interests. At the moment, there is a generalized and widespread distrust of all Westerners, but there are forces both inside and outside the Middle East which will not rest until at least a significant portion of it has made a definite choice between conflicting forces in the West. In the meantime, the Middle East is rather in the position of a man in a relay race, whose predecessor has handed him the baton but continues to run along beside him, first telling him to run in one direction and then in another.

Though the traditional culture of the Middle East persists in many significant ways which cannot be ignored, the present culture as a whole can fully be comprehended only in the light of the acculturative process to which it is being subjected. This process, as we have seen, is an exceedingly complicated phenomenon. Because it is complicated and in full career, it is rather difficult to analyze. Furthermore, it is often difficult for Westerners to free themselves from subjective judgments in the matter since they themselves are involved in it. Consequently, there is a bewildering array of widely held impressions and opinions. Here are four of them, arranged in pairs: Change in the Middle East is only skin deep; it involves only the superficial, material aspects of life. Life nowadays in a city like Beirut or Cairo is just like life in a modern European city. Again, great improvements have been made in education, public health, and farming techniques. The Middle East is oppressed by ignorance, disease, and antiquated subsistence techniques. Many others could be noted, but these will do.

280 One has only to look in the appropriate places and talk to the appropriate people to find apparently convincing evidence of the truth of all these propositions. As a totality, they present some contradictions. These are, of course, accentuated by faulty logic and the injection of emotional bias, but the fact remains that when the Middle East as a whole is considered, genuine contradictions are bound to be encountered. Its culture is complex, and, like all cultures, it is composed of many interlocking parts. The culture change process which is working upon it is multilateral; it has affected different regions in different ways, and different parts of culture in different ways.

No matter how many problems stand in the way of a systematic approach to the study of Middle East culture-in-change, such an approach is, nevertheless, feasible, provided it is begun intensively and on a limited scale; and a small village is an excellent place to begin.

Anthropological research could be initiated in any one of the three basic types of ecological milieu which characterize the Middle East: the nomadic group, the village, and the urban center. The village is to be found in every country of the Middle East. Nomadic groups and urban centers are not quite so extensively distributed. Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest in

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest

the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differentiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various religious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon. 78(9) 177 369) [186]

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed phenomena. 12.1

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descriptive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's suggestion (1953, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "economics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the functionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interdependent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclusive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual." 12.8

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944). These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear. Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be. The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

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12¶ It is not claimed that Part I is a complete ethnography of the village. It *is* as complete as the investigator could make it, and any glaring omissions are either the fault of his limited abilities and opportunities or the result of the avoidance of certain topics for reasons of rapport.

Part II begins with a retrogression in time, presenting a brief reconstruction of the traditional village culture and a history of the development of present conditions. The various lines of culture change are then sorted out, and their differential effects on various aspects of the culture are analyzed. The most important conclusion is that the social structure, i.e., kinship and marriage patterns, a matter of great importance in the traditional culture, has proved remarkably resistant to change. The theory is then advanced that village social structure in the Middle East generally represents but one phase, or "sphere," in an overall pattern which constitutes the skeleton of Middle East society. Hence, in part, its resistance to change.

000 The germ of this theory took root in the writer's mind some time ago (Gulick, 1949, pp. 150-51). However, it did not take on systematic form until he became acquainted with the hierarchical system of kinship-political units which Evans-Pritchard analyzes in *The Nuer*. The theory developed in Part II is an adaptation of Evans-Pritchard's basic concepts, supported by Murdock (1949), Coon (1951), and others. In brief, the theory postulates a hierarchical system of strong in-group types: extended family, lineage, local group, sect group, and nation, to mention the five most important. The totality of units of each type constitutes a "sphere." The cohesive strength of the village under study is largely due to the fact that it happens that three of the spheres are coterminous in it.

This is primarily a social structural interpretation of a cultural situation. As far as it goes, and so far as he can see, the writer believes it to be valid. Most emphatically, however, its status is that of an hypothesis only. The writer hopes that it may be tested by further research of the same type, and, especially, against the conclusions drawn from investigations which have a different theoretical and methodological orientation.

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PART ONE

THE CULTURE OF AL-MUNSIF

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THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

PHYSICAL SETTING

IN Permian times, the land which is now Lebanon was submerged under the [15] great, warm "Tethys Ocean" whose waters washed the shores of two sturdy landmasses of "Gondwanaland." These landmasses are now Arabia and Egypt. From early Cretaceous to late Pliocene times, tremendous deposits of the remains of marine fauna were laid down on the floor of the ocean. The period of deposition was followed by a period of uplift during which the ocean floor was raised thousands of feet above the level of the sea which is now called Mediterranean. Subsequent faulting and folding completed the creation of the present topography of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (Fisher, 1950, pp. 11-12). This consists, essentially, of two roughly parallel ranges of mountains and hills, divided by a rift system, which extend from the plain of Homs in Syria to the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red Sea. This mountain system steadily decreases in altitude from Lebanon in the north to the Negeb in the south, where it is hardly perceptible.

Mount Lebanon rises abruptly from the sea and attains, at one point, an altitude of over 10,000 feet, maintaining an average of about 6000 feet. There are fairly extensive coastal plains inland from Sidon and Tyre, in the Kura district near Tripoli, and, especially, in the Akkar, most of which actually belongs to Syria. Elsewhere, however, it is often only a matter of technicality to say that there is any appreciable coastal plain at all, and one of the least favored districts in this respect is al-Qurai, which is the locus of this study.

The climate of Lebanon is basically the classic, Mediterranean type which [16] features chilly, rainy winters and hot, rainless summers. Mt. Lebanon itself effects a number of modifications in this yearly cycle. The high slopes catch the clouds which are swept in by the prevailing winter westerlies and force them to drop a large part of their moisture. As a result, the annual precipitation (rain below about 3000 feet, snow above it) ranges between about twenty and forty inches (Fisher, 1950, p. 367). Annual averages give a false picture of reality because the precipitation from year to year is highly variable (Fisher, 1950, p. 161). For example, in the winter of 1950-51, twenty-two inches fell at Beirut, while in 1951-52, forty-two inches fell. Precipitation is concentrated in the months from November to April, but within that period it is capricious. It is not unusual to have one day of cloudiness immediately followed by one of clear skies. Even in the wettest month (January), there are only fourteen to seventeen rainy days

132 (Fisher, 1950, p. 39). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 80°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 41). In al-Qurah, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

[13] 312 Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 376). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 6000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very deep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age men and latter-day troglodytes), a large natural bridge, and at least one tremendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what [illegible] there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is al-Qurah.
491 This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut
[491] and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities pass through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1920, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from [illegible] to [illegible] is paved, and has been

in existence about fifteen years. The road from [illegible] through Munsif to Ḥibel [illegible] has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mar Jurjis and Ḥibel is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Barbara is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 2) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the southwestern pueblo in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, sāḥa, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Thoumin, 1936, p. 128). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely centers. The new roads in al-Qurni are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Munsif follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it. 361

We have already seen that al-Qurni has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thoumin, 1936, p. 128) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described: 312 153

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cretaceous) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cretaceous sands, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestones lower still. A fault at Tartij [East of al-Qurni] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable layer, so that there is a chance that very deep wells sunk at al-Munsif might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found round Jounieh and Mameltein [South of Jbeil] the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Tartij) with the main anticline of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a point N. of Jounieh from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-sand outcrops. (W. B. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 12, 1950.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ḥibel there are two springs. Both, however, are small, and 312

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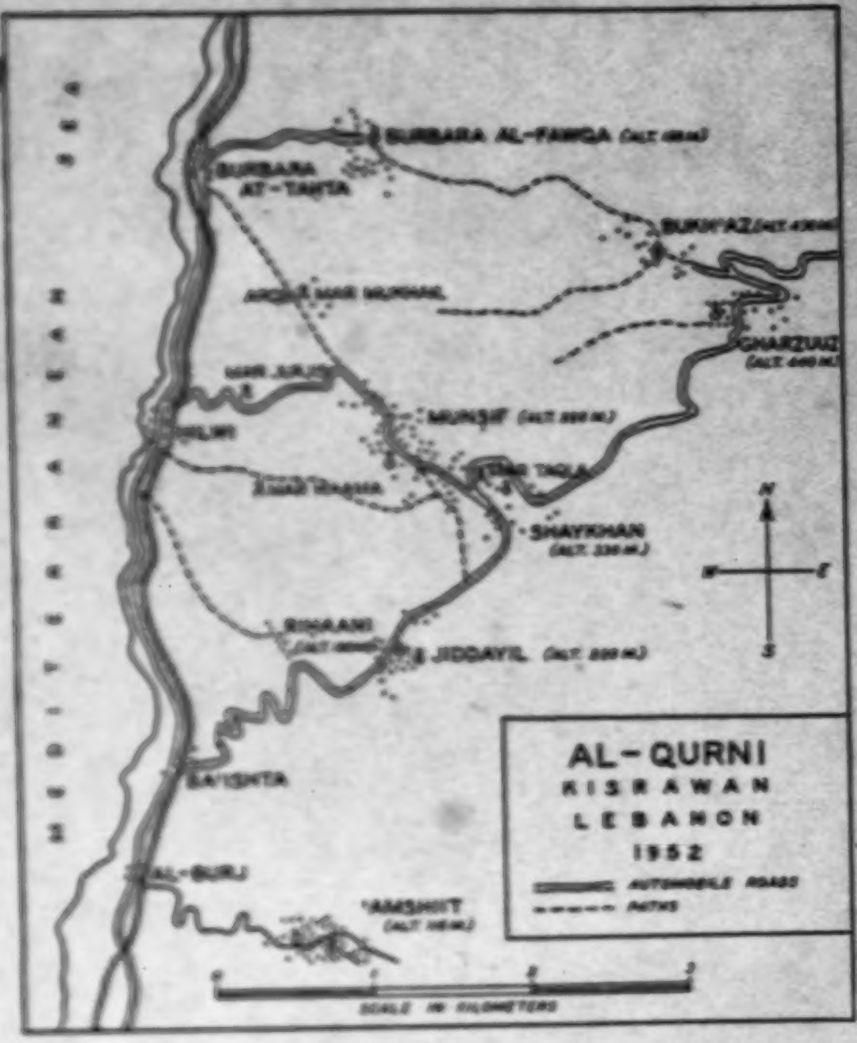
BURBARA AL-FAWQA
BURBARA AT-TAHTA
MUNSIF (ALT. 250 M.)
SHAYKHAN (ALT. 230 M.)
GHARZUZ
JIDDAYIL
AL-BURJ
'AMSHIT
AL-QURNI
KISRAWAN
LEBANON
1952
AUTOMOBILE ROADS
PATHS
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SCALE IN KILOMETERS
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FIG. 2. AL-QURNI

312 only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

137 The sparse natural flora of al-Qurni is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

> Evergreen oaks, which are tolerant of greater aridity, persist,—although at wider intervals than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a low scrub of dwarf bushes and thorns take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 3 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Garigue is often discontinuous, with bare patches of soil and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1950, p. 71.) (37)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed; as a matter of fact, so far as the writer knows there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes. (36

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNI

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qurni be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. True, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the sea; and from the south, say from the hamlet of al-Burj, the ridge upon which Rihanni and Jiddayil are built looms up definitely higher than the nearer land, from which it is separated by an arroyo, the Wadi Be'ubta. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurni there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhan and Munsif are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Juni to Tripoli. /072 /73 /33 36/

Al-Qurni is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrawan, one of several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurni does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Barbara, Gharzuz, Shaykhan, Munsif, Jiddayil, and Rihanni. Lower Barbara is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bahh'as is part of Gharzuz. Hilwi and 'Arqhi belong to Munsif. Be'ubta is part of Rihanni. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bahh'as from Gharzuz. Of the seven, 631 632

7: Gulick E-5 (1955) 1950 ME:1 Lebanon ME:1

632 Munsif is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jiddayel which is the second in size.

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[714] *Al-Qatta'* is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phoneme /q/ is pronounced slightly differently in [illegible], Munsif, and Jiddayel; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qatta' is a unit. Why? It is not because of close proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jiddayel, al-Qatta' is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kisrawan had a resident population of 61,004, plus an emigrant population of 16,290. Of the residents, 54,310 were Maronites, 2,030 were Mitwali (Shi'a Moslems), and 1,810 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Himadeh, 1936, pp. 410-11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qatta'.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, religious affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM BEIRUT TO MUNSIF

OCO Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Munsif itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

457
161 Let us, now, in imagination, go to Munsif by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

[516]
245 Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

Finally, we come to the town of Jbeil whose population was estimated in 1952 to be 3000, (Himadeh, 1936, p. 7). It is now probably considerably more. It is surrounded by banana plantations and is currently enjoying a period of prosperity and growth largely because of the recently installed irrigation system. The highway runs right through the commercial center of the town, and though we must be careful to avoid collisions with heavily laden donkeys, sheep, fowl, men, honking taxis, trucks and buses, we are aware that the street is lined with small shops of all kinds. On our left we pass the local courthouse, a neat rectangular structure from which the national flag flies, and around which stand or sit a few members of the national gendarmerie, in khaki uniforms, with rifles slung over their shoulders. If our eyes are sharp, we will notice also, a small sign which reads "Fouilles de Byblos," with an arrow pointing towards the sea. And in this direction we can hardly fail to miss seeing the cavernous vault which is all that remains of the upper levels of a castle built by the Crusaders. If we have prepared ourselves properly, we will know that this ruin is surrounded by others of much greater age which attest to the fact that the bustle through which we are passing is but the current phase in the life of one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the world. Later we will learn that Jbeil is the primary marketing center of Munsif. [7] [172]

Shortly after leaving Jbeil, we pass the unpaved road which leads to the large village of 'Amshit built on a small rise in the land at some distance from the highway. We must deduce its identity from our map, for there is, as usual, no sign. After the rather sharp turn near al-Burj, the road dips downward and our view to the north is suddenly blocked completely by the ridge to which some reference has already been made. The ridge appears to plunge, at a moderately steep angle, directly into the sea, but we notice that the highway continues on around it. We, however, turn sharply to the right on a side road which we can see winds up the ridge. We stop, athwart the railroad tracks, to allow a man, whose head is swathed in a kaffiyeh and crowned by an aqal, to drive his herd of fat-tailed sheep across the road. He pays no particular attention to us, for he is a stranger here himself, though he has probably come this way for years. However, after we have wound our way upwards for a few minutes we pass a group of men who are lounging in the shade of a carob tree, eating lunch. They stare hard and frankly at us, and one of them gets to his feet to have a better look. Our major ascent is finished when we reach the crest of the ridge, and we find on each side of the road the neat terraces of figs and olives which belong to Jiddayel. Soon the houses close in tightly, but briefly, on both sides. As we pass through, a rooster flaps across the road, just missing our wheels. A few human figures step out of doorways to see who is coming and stand staring at us. Off to the right of the straight road from Jiddayel to Hsarat we see smoke pouring from the open top of a limekiln. To the left, still at some distance, we see, at last, the houses of Munsif, ranging in color from white to tawny to grey. They are perched, seemingly on top [8] [36]

36 [illegible] of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends noticeably in the direction of the sea where the horizon rises high in the western sky.

Sheykhan seems deserted as we drive through it, and then go down into Munsif. 361 609 At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked and human activity is apparent. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a sport shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large wicker trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of withdrawn, yet undisguised, curiosity. No one steps forward.

As we get out of our car, someone picks up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been looking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the one we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our 574 health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, soon his wife brings us coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Munsif are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

THE MATERIAL BASE

THE PHYSICAL PATTERN OF THE VILLAGE

As a physical site, al-Munsif has five parts (See Fig. 2): The hamlet of Shīrīt; ? (J the three saints' shrines each of which has been, at one time or another, the nucleus of a small house-cluster, and the village proper. The territory which belongs to the village is roughly triangular in shape. The apex of this triangle is at the eastern extremity of the village proper, the sides extend from the apex to the seashore which forms the base. The paths which lead from the village proper to the shore, via Mar Maama and Mar Mikhāʾīl, run along ridge crests. The boundaries of the village lie in the wadis (dry stream-beds) which are immediately adjacent to these crests, to the south and the north of them, respectively. All of the real property within the area thus defined belongs to the citizens of the village.

Shīrīt owes its existence to its location on a main highway, near a small, sheltered cove, and, possibly, to the two springs which were mentioned in the previous chapter. The development and present significance of this hamlet will be discussed further in Part II. Here we need only mention that Shīrīt has the most extensive fig orchards in the village, and, in a small building which is used as a store in summer, there is a public telephone. This is the only electrical appliance of any kind, dependent upon a central public power system, in the entire village. {45 20}

The shrines will be discussed in the chapter, "Formal Institutions." Of the three, only Mar Mikhāʾīl has recently had any significance as a residence site. At present, one family of outsiders lives there in the winter (See next two chapters). It will be noted that the site has a special name, ʿarqīn, besides that of the shrine.

The village proper (see map, Fig. 3) is built, as has been noted before, on the flank of a crest, extending in a northwest-southeast direction for the greater part of one kilometer and steadily decreasing in altitude from 280 meters above sea level in the southeast to 180 meters in the northwest. The highest houses in the southeast are virtually on the top of the crest. As the map and figures indicate, the village is also steeply tilted in a northeast-southwest direction. For the most part, the houses, as well as the terraces, are oriented longitudinally along the contours of the ridge. In the section of the village which lies to the south of the main road there is a very full distribution of functioning terraces, but in most of the northern part, terraces are either entirely absent or (except in the eastern extremity) fallen into ruins. In its essential details, this settlement pattern belongs to a type which is commonplace in Lebanon (Thoumin, 1936, p. 283).

7: Gulick H-2 (1954) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

AL-MUNSIF
LEBANON
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

FIG. 3. Al-Munsif: Institutional Structures

7 16

361 [103] Most of the territory of the village is divided into a large number of sections each of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the sections—*[illegible]* ([illegible])—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were translated as follows: "big place," "forehead" (i.e., the [illegible] which [illegible] it to the north), "[illegible]" ([illegible]), "[illegible]" (connotation obscure), "lemon place" (no citrus plants are grown in the village), "little land" (a secondary crest, see Fig. 4, Sec. 22), "groves," "center of town" (*suk*), "small green fertile place," "place of small olive press" (no longer so), and "priest's cistern" (obscure). Translations could not be obtained for a few others. Just outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Arabic origin. No particular name is given to some sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *suk* has been applied to part of this central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 2) is relatively recent, for in general *suk* means the part of a village where the stores are located.

Those portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *[illegible]*, which means the deep fertile soil which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic term for this particular soil type. Others in use in the village are *sahl* (plain—land without trees), *[illegible]* (land with trees), and *mulk* (orchards). Of these, the last is of particular interest.

[423] *Mulk* really means "land held in fee simple." In Munsif, nearly all the land is held in fee simple, and orchards are the most valuable property. *[illegible]* is incorporated into some of the section names, but *[illegible]* and *mulk* are not, as far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to [illegible] (the old path which it superseded was called *tariq al-maliha*—"road to the brackish spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to [illegible] via Mar [illegible] (*tariq al-[illegible]*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-four named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past owners or associated events, or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

621 The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves: *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*), "the upper part," and *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*), "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was stated that up to about eighty years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Maximal Lineage A, the lower part by Maximal Lineage C. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

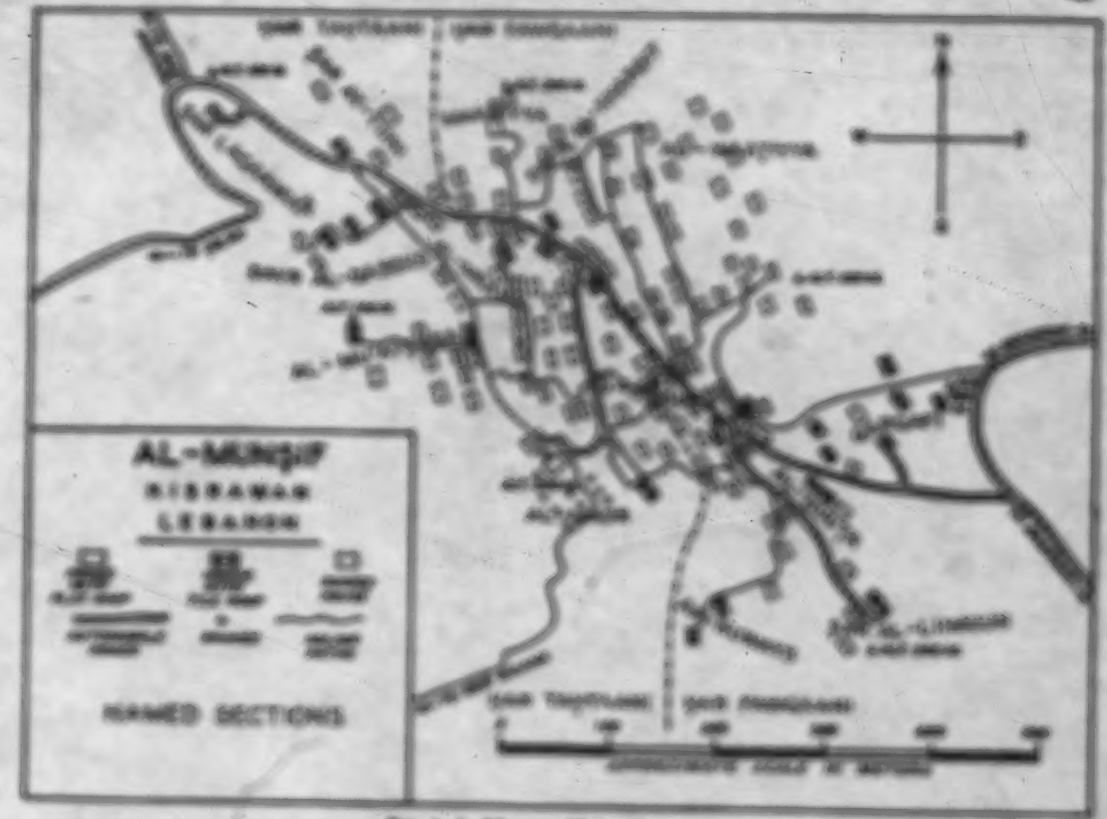
AL-MUNṢIF
LEBANON
NAMED SECTIONS

Fig. 4. Al-Munsif Village Sections

[12] (see the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

361 The map (Fig. 2) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper.[1] Three of the six shops (sing. dikkane, plur. dakakin) are concentrated in the suq. Actually, building 3 was not open during the period of
346 study, but building 4 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also one of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, farther down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the suq, are immediately adjacent to the houses
[402] of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Wadiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Bir al-Tine and Dayr al-Qambiz sections). There is a third under construction in the eastern end of the suq, and
[251] a fourth at Hilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mash from which dibs, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 6. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the [illegible] Families (see next chapter) of the village.

362 It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

342 The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house straight or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [Al-Munsif -- [illegible]]

342 a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

[342] The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the heat of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called [illegible] ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (qabū) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of a long, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet, for the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is

[352] packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller ([illegible]), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are unglazed and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is every reason to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Munsif is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and

[354] some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1920's. Weulersse (1946, p. 207) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well-adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level, sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows, and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions.

usually in a row of three recessed or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old. 342

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1890 to 1914. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 297) makes the same statement. Weulersse (1946, p. 226) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Sweet (1948a, p. 142), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa ([illegible]) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Munsif as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, usually made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles. [354]

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 220) indicates that Munsif is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have them.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently well laid and the fact that there are more windows, usually still unglazed. [333]

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, in glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or in arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. These appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron locks with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style. [414]

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon ([illegible]—"[illegible]") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the [illegible], with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen may often [illegible] occupies one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a wash room. The cistern is likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often [illegible], is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

[illegible] After the era of great prosperity which ended with the start of the First World War, there appears to have been no building to speak of until the 1930's.

Of the modern houses, there are six which are essentially additions to older structures, either second storeys or side-by-side with, and connected to, the old. Three more are entirely new. These also conform to older patterns in their limestone masonry, rectangular plan, and room arrangement. The walls are, however, relatively thin, and cement is used much more liberally than of old to hold the stones together. Projecting porches, supported by cylindrical concrete pillars, are a new feature, but the most outstanding innovation is the flat, concrete roof.

There are two more modern houses each of which is in a class by itself. One is the highest house in the village, and at first glance it does not seem unusual. It is built of limestone and has a tile roof. On closer inspection, however, a number of unusual features become evident. There is an extensive sill and a projecting porch in back. A sort of garden path leads to the front door on each side of which there is a trellis. The windows are large, and, of course, glazed. This house is somewhat in the style of the villas which can be seen in Lebanese mountain resorts. Its builder and owner is a man who works and lives in Tripoli, except in the summer.

The other modern house of special note represents the most radical departure from the old patterns. It is not yet completed, consisting only of the frame which is made of reinforced concrete and concrete blocks. (The old-type construction does not require a frame.) Probably it will have a limestone facing, including some carved surfaces, when it is finished, and it will conform in design and construction to a modernistic European style which is frequently seen elsewhere in Lebanon. This house, also, is being built by a summer resident.

[illegible] The great increase in the use of concrete is worthy of comment, for cement is one of the few important non-agricultural products of modern Lebanon. Consequently, it is relatively inexpensive. In addition to this, there is its admirable property of plasticity. However, its use in roofs is, in the writer's opinion, a poor environmental adaptation. In winter, concrete roofs make cold, damp ceilings. In summer, they radiate a great deal of heat, and the rooms which have them usually become very hot.

The significance of the ruined houses (*khirbe*) is much more of a social than [illegible] a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village; at least one has its floor plowed up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used to new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. 342 All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have unoccupied owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bir*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyye*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The name is derived from the Hanafi school of Moslem jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyye* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in 352 every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

352 sions at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with [illegible] cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with rush cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed [361] with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the [illegible], or front room, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 Every house is wholly or partly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs,
513 mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sleeping-pads wrapped in blankets or quilted pads. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the wood fuel was burned. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Brief instructions for its operation are etched on the rim of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive, wears very well, operates well, is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle, a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee), a cylindrical brass coffee grinder, pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery, and a stone mortar and pestle. Silverware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

[illegible] -29

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses 415 are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is 272 consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted 271 jug called ibriq. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as 416 early as possible. For this purpose, a small ibriq, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the ibriq, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means 354 of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses 416 it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few unshielded lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. 352 Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved 353 brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is 264 ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the leftovers from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee (usually) after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In 262 effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year- 434

262 sonal staples, all, except citrus fruits, in the summer. The staples, which are either constantly obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

Wheat (mostly imported)	Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
Rice (imported)	A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
Mutton (mostly bought on the hoof from outsiders)	Milk (locally produced)
Hens' eggs (locally produced)	Salt (locally produced)
Olives (locally produced)	Sugar (imported)
Figs (locally produced)	Coffee and tea (imported)
Fresh fish (caught locally)	
Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)	

This base is supplemented in summer by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and almonds.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the forms in which these staples are eaten are the following:

262 *Bread.* Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe its use among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is the staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is an important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Thomson (1886, p. 726) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Munsif, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Thomson's statement.

264 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten, nutritively and instrumentally, with bread.

Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbana*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqushi* ("engraved"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village. 262 252

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork. 262 463

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *'araq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *'araq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *'araq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much. 273

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner. 262

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat dish or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Laḥm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil, which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

262 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are
251 made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs*, which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *halaweh* ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in cylindrical cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *tahini* (crushed sesame seeds). *Halaweh* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

262 *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish,
252 *laban 'immu*, which consists of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labne* (drained *laban*, which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat cooked dishes.

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things. Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

272 Tea (*shay*) is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the
265 sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwe*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is always sweet is not necessarily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guest is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the
252 only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kusa mahshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*salata*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbuleh*. This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbe*, *tabbuleh* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *'araq*.

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to 262
be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *tahini* to form a very 252
popular and filling "sauce" called *hummus bitahini*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating 262
requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local 177
fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according 291
to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the 292
ghumbaz, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Weulersse (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy 291
trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *tarbush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *tarbush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *tarbush* which, however, is not

211 worn by any man younger than about *forty*. The European hat with a brim (*birnayta*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an aspect, and rather an apt symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *tarbush* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals.
547] This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

[296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 486) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *shirwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

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805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is 805
no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a 805
definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would [556] be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of 302
European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have 515
and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be 415
added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screw- 412
drivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no 412
horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several [illegible]
segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an angle. The thresher is a heavy 412
sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the *Akkar*) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 124-26, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three [illegible]
men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human 202
backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a conces-

202 aerial means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, 498 the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbayl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Ḥālāt, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbayl if necessary.

206 In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Ḥālāt. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one apparatus in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along 207 the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Ḥālāt and one in the village proper, both in private homes. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbayl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

177, 20 In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

POPULATION

MUNSIF is the focus of activity of a grand total of about 325 people. This 621 population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Core Group	250
Peripheral to Core	15
"Winterers"	50 plus
Mixed	10
	325 plus

Numerically, all of the smaller or "subsidiary" groups are insignificant as compared to the Core. Of the three, the "Winterers" (shitwiyyi) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village, as their name suggests, only during part of the year. As far as the members of the Core Group are concerned, the smaller components of the population are socially, as well as numerically, insignificant, and inquiries about them invariably elicited bored, uninterested responses and comments like, "What do you want to know about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In their own eyes and in the eyes of the law, the members of the Core Group, 250 strong, are the village, whereas the three subsidiary component groups in the population are outsiders whose residence in the village is either periodic or more or less temporary. Hereafter, we will be concerned with the Core Group only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Subsidiary Groups will be discussed in some detail in Appendix A.

THE CORE GROUP

Table 1 presents a considerable amount of data on the Core Group. We 621 need not concern ourselves at this point with the very important question of sub- 613 descent status, which appears in numerical form in this table. 617

The essentials of the lineage system which is indicated in the table are as follows: The members of the Core Group consider themselves to be direct descendants of a man named Mansur Jurjis al-Ghanri who, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from Jabal Hauran, south of Damascus, after a few years' sojourn in Baalbek. The youngest members of the Core Group at present

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lishing, variously according to the particular position, in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth generation in descent from [illegible] as being counted as the first generation. The main part of the Core Group is divided into three

TABLE 1. CORE GROUP: [illegible]*

[illegible]

* [See key to symbols on page 49 -- Backup?]

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large kin groups each of which consists of the descendants (reckoned patrilineally) of one of the three sons of the founder. These kin groups are called Maximal Lineages in this study, and they are designated by the capital letters A, B, and C. Each Maximal Lineage is subdivided into a number of smaller kin groups which herein are called Minimal Lineages, designated by Roman numerals. Each Minimal Lineage consists of from one to fourteen households, each represented by a number in Arabic numerals. Maximal Lineages, Minimal Lineages, and households are distinct social units, recognized as such by their members. This whole group is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion.

In addition to the descendants of the founder of the village, the Core Group also includes eight households each of which is called in this study an Affiliate Family. The villagers themselves do not have any special term for them, and it should be emphasized that the eight families do not cohere as a unit. The status of Affiliate Family was achieved in every case by a man from another village or district first settling in the village and then marrying a member of the Core Group. The man himself always remains an outsider in the eyes of the Core Group, but his children have Core Group relatives through their mother. The heads of most of the present Affiliate Families are still in the position of technical outsiders. The head of AF1-1, however, belongs to the fourth generation of his family to live in the village. "He is from here, but it is a new family," was the way in which his status was described.

The Affiliate Families have been divided into three arbitrary classes in an attempt to indicate the differing degrees to which they have been accepted as members of the in-group. This is the writer's conceptualization, not that of the villagers, so far as he knows. Class 1 appears to have been fully accepted in every sense, except that exclusively patrilineal descent from the founder cannot be claimed. The distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 is rather subjective on the writer's part and may not be valid. Class 3, however, is definitely marginal in status, and an important reason for this is that the founders of the families in the village were not Greek Orthodox, and the religious affiliation of some of their children is rather dubious.

It might be said at this point that no one was able to demonstrate the descent of Minimal Lineage XXI either from the village founder or from the founder of Maximal Lineage C, although its members claim patrilineal descent from the village founder. A genealogy of the lineage carries it back seven generations, which is in line with the depth of the other Minimal Lineages. It was generally agreed that a woman in one of the earliest generations of the lineage married a man of A.III, but it was quite obvious that in terms of loyalty and cohesion XXI belonged to C. It is entirely possible that lineage XXI was once in the position of the present Affiliate Families.

The structure of the Core Group will be considered in greater detail in the

[illegible]

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TABLE [illegible]. LINEAGES: NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION BY RELIGION*

Hamulas and Minimal Lineages	Number of Households	Population					
		[illegible]	GC	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Total
A	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
II	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
III	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
IV	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
V	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
VI	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
VII	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
VIII	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
IX	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
X	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
XI	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
B	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
XII	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
XIII	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
C	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XIV	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XV	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
XVI	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
XVII	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
XVIII	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
XIX	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
XX	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XXI	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Affiliated Families	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Core Group Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Key to symbols: See Table [illegible].

chapter on the social structure of the village. Table [illegible] indicates the relative sizes of the lineages in somewhat [illegible] fashion than Table [illegible].

6.2] The total population counted for the Core Group, [illegible], includes married women from other villages in the Qada or from outside the Qada (the latter are rare). It also includes Core Group women who have been taken by men from outside the Qada or from other villages in the Qada (the latter are rare), but it does not include their husbands or their children except, of course, in the case of Affiliate Families. The first inclusion conforms with the law and with general attitudes, both of which hold that a woman becomes a member of her husband's family. The second inclusion conforms with another cultural norm to the effect that marriage to an outsider does not divorce a woman from affiliation with her natal family or lineage. (The father, brothers, or patrilineal first cousins of a woman whose marriage, for any reason, is dissolved are morally obligated to come to her assistance if necessary.)

Three families have been excluded from the Core Group count. The first is that of a Greek Orthodox man from Beirut who rents a house in Munsif for the summer. He is not a legal resident of the village. His wife is a sister of two Core Group members, but their family has predominantly outside connections.

The second is a family of lineage A.IV which has lived in Jbeil for several decades and appears to have lost all but nominal connection with the village.

The third excluded family perhaps should not be excluded. It lives in Bathaa but connections with Munsif—and especially its own lineage (C.XVI)—appear to be close. The head of the family was in America for a long time. When he returned to Munsif, his brother had taken over the family house, and there was no room for him. He bought land in Bathaa and settled there. The legal residence of the family was not ascertained. The wife is a member of lineage C.XXI, and there are ten children—six daughters, and four sons. Three of the daughters are married—one to a member of her own natal lineage, C.XVI, another to a Greek Orthodox outsider (in [illegible]), and the third to a Maronite (in [illegible]).

One birth, four marriages, and two deaths occurred during the period of study, and the statistic tabulations take cognizance of all but the deaths. As of the beginning of the study, the Core Group included nine widowers (two of whom were married twice) and twenty-three widows, (eight and twenty-two at the end of the study). The marriages which these individuals contracted are included in the marriage data which will be analyzed in a later chapter.

AGE AND SEX RATIOS

6.3]
16.2 Table 3 shows the Core Group in terms of age and sex. It will be observed that females exceed males by only seven, [illegible] as against [illegible]. In the writer's opinion, the only striking fact which the table reveals is the disproportionately small size of age group [illegible] in the females and age group [illegible] in the males. For this, there are three possible explanations: (1) Emigration was at its peak in the years immediately preceding World War I, and so a large number of potential

7: Gulick E-1 (1952) 1955 ME1: Lebanon ME1

621
/62

Table 5. Census Groups by Age and Sex

Age Groups		Male	Female	Total	Age Groups		Male	Female	Total
0–4	....	24	19	43	50–54	....	17	11	28
5–9	....	20	28	48	55–59	....	8	7	15
10–14	....	20	27	38	60–64	....	6	10	16
15–19	....	31	30	61	65–69	....	3	3	6
20–24	....	38	20	57	70–74	....	1	6	7
25–29	....	20	25	45	75–79	....	0	3	3
30–34	....	18	11	29	80–84	....	1	—	1
35–39	....	13	23	36	85–89	....	1	1	2
40–44	....	13	28	33			—	—	—
45–49	....	23	19	42		Total	236	265	501

parents and older members of these age groups were removed from the scene at that time. (2) It was said that during the War one hundred villagers died directly or indirectly of malnutrition which was a consequence of the Turkish blockade of Lebanon and other evils caused by the war. It is reasonable to suppose that children and adolescents formed a large proportion of those who succumbed during the crisis. (3) No marriages were contracted during the war years. In this connection, we are reminded of [illegible]'s statement (1946, p. 311) that the steady population growth of Lebanon was interrupted in the period 1915–1922.

Table 6 shows the number of living children for each married pair (including widows and widowers) in the village. It includes twenty couples, who are probably still in the process of enlarging the number of their children. There were only two cases of childless couples.

No data were obtained on infant and child mortality. The writer's impression is that in recent years, at least, the rate has been low. The table represents a considerable time-span, but all within the period of acculturation. Within this period, no general shift in the number of children per couple is evident. The village genealogy is not suitable for estimating the number of children in past periods

Table 6. Number of Living Children per Married Couple

Number of Children		Number of Couples	Number of Children		Number of Couples
1	....	6	7	....	3
2	....	10	8	....	3
3	....	10	9	....	1
4	....	12			
5	....	11			
6	....	6			

Mean number of children 3.8
Modal number of children 3.0

621 162 account it fits males only. For comparative purposes, all we have is Tannous's statement that in Bishmizzin, a nearby Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of this community came from Bishmizzin, Munsif, and Ghazir (Tannous, 1942a, p. 242).

HEALTH

164 757 With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practice and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

621 592 There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which can clearly be ascribed to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Kluckhohn & Griffith, 1950, p. 404). Munsif has been a predominantly endogamous population for thirteen generations at most, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of second, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Munsif today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of overseas emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident, 10 are wholly summer; 8 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 41 are split. Of the 41 split households: 39 have the head and others resident; 2 have the head and others in summer only.

From this and the population totals, it is clear that in terms of numbers, residence in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 18 per cent of the households are "commuters" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as [illegible]) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Bishmizzine about 1930 when 13.3 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village three months of the year (Tannous, 1942, p. 47). Tannous refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. [illegible] (1950, p. 277) says that in Deir el-[illegible], a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Jbeil appeared to be largely deserted in wintertime in 1951. Thoumin (1936, p. 160) says that in general [illegible] has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1930's, but we cannot say how the situation in Munsif compares to that in other villages.

[illegible] The living pattern of the summer residents generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by the week, or of course spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since [illegible]. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between [illegible] and [illegible], other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes ([illegible]). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six ([illegible] per cent) of the heads of households have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite [illegible] who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than [illegible] per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture ([illegible]). [illegible]

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in [illegible] than it is in the village proper, partly because [illegible] is better located from the point of view of rapid communications with the outside. [illegible] population is as follows: residents, [illegible]; summer, [illegible]; absent, [illegible]; emigrated, [illegible]; total [illegible]. None of its eleven households is wholly resident, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

[illegible] A detailed study and discussion of Table 1 will bring out more of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the [illegible]. The number of males far exceeds that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, [illegible] to [illegible]. The discrepancy is not [illegible] which these figures suggest is [illegible] by the fact that [illegible] females are housewives or "at home." The total of [illegible] heads of households does not tally with

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the man himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" usually are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (fellah) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Munsif also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

241 It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all fellahin." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern side of Wadi Ibrahim, just outside the Qarn, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. [illegible], 1946, p. 63), and he said that he plans to expand it in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fisherman	[illegible]
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	[illegible]
Barber	[illegible]	Mason	[illegible]
Priest	1	Carpenter	[illegible]
Storekeeper	[illegible]	Teacher	[illegible]

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (natur, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once [illegible], and another was a [illegible] part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former masons

871 872 873 The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

465 565 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	2
Chauffeur	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	3

[564] The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus three village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

[577] None of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

464 753 590 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are qualified nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may contribute to the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

562 584 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. European

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-45

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	29	0	27	4	30-34	6	5	6	7
20-24	20	1	17	7	35-39	3	6	3	10
25-29	17	6	10	20	40-45	2	10	0	10

[illegible] Gulick E-3 (1953) 1955 [illegible]
Middle East [illegible]

L.

sixty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, before the age of twenty. From fifteen to forty-five each age shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age groups concerned; this situation only comes to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an elder brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages	Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages
0- 1	[illegible]	7- 8	[illegible]
1- 2	[illegible]	8- 9	[illegible]
2- 3	[illegible]	9-10	[illegible]
3- 4	[illegible]	10-11	[illegible]
4- 5	[illegible]	11-12	[illegible]
5- 6	[illegible]	12-13	[illegible]
6- 7	[illegible]	13-14	[illegible]

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be considerably older than their wives—two cases of a [illegible]-year difference, and one each with [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE POSITION OF THE WOMAN

L.

One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" woman's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of legal status (which

[illegible] lage. The most popular occupation, sewing, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 264), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[167] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,200,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 13) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprise. Lowdermilk (1944, p. 411) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 120,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Mass emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Munsif some cases were reported of men who came and went several times. The [illegible] majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for brides—adding evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Munsif but none since the 1930's.

[177] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from fostering the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the [illegible] emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 6,000,000 pounds sterling (Thomson, 1946, p. 90). This was off-set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $14,000,000, in 1929 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16).

The people of Munsif have done their share in the process of emigration.

"There are as many of us there as there are here," it was said. Material evidence of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the tile-roof houses and the fifty-odd ruined houses in the village. [illegible]

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted: (1) In Maximal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six minimal lineages. Four of them, referred to later as "deceased" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one similar case in Maximal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of permanent and long-standing emigrants, eighty-four in all, who were recorded. These are merely a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of these thirty-eight departed between 1900 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1935. No one in the village pretends that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated whether their emigration will be permanent or not.

TABLE 7. PERMANENT EMIGRANTS, MOSTLY SIBLINGS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Lineage	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead	Lineage	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
I	—	—	—	—	XIII	1	—	—	—
II	—	—	—	—	XIV	1	—	—	—
III	3	—	4	—	XV	1	—	1	—
IV	5	—	3	—	XVI	6	3	3	—
V	4	—	1	—	XVII	—	1	—	1
VI	2	—	1	—	XVIII	—	—	—	—
VII	2	—	—	—	XIX	2	2	—	—
VIII	4	2	1	—	XX	—	—	2	—
IX	—	—	—	—	XXI	4	1	1	—
X	6	1	1	—	AF	—	1	1	—
XI	5	—	3	—		—	—	—	—
XII	2	—	1	1	Total	48	11	23	2

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of substantial status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in its culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various remarks suggested that it is on the decrease.

167 "The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a *few* in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

423 471 Mansur Jurjis al-Khuri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 3). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by minimal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *masha'a* (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

241 464 From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

464 Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their terraces, pretty actively in some cases.

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed 736
in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, 747
in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A 621
unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide
medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a
doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for
caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family,
who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household
in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them
some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for [558]
whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such
conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies [578
this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up
appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute 613]
to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. 212
A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The 873
significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here
it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least,
one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise
one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional
status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine
and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Munsif has
recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates [464]
which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured
person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied
with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction
is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Munsif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require 241
rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives,
figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been
true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, [231]
was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out
completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Metn,
and Shuf districts (Févret, 1949b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic
preeminence.

222 prominence. Of the present conditions in Munsif the following could be an
241 adequate description:

> In spite of its present unimportance, the mulberry has not deserted the Lebanese countryside. Many houses, and some of the most humble ones, are always surrounded by tiny terraces each one bearing one or two rows of these trees, with their low, truncated trunks and dense foliage, which, formerly, in the eyes of the peasant, were the clearest symbol of fortune. ([illegible], 1946b, p. 142; translation mine.)

Mulberries are grown in the jinan, the deep, fertile soil near the houses. Other crops grown here are onions, potatoes, and legumes. The most important small cash crop is tobacco, grown under the restrictive quota system of the official tobacco monopoly.

Figs, olives, and grape vines are, for the most part, outside the village house-cluster. The figs are concentrated at Ḥilwi, but there are some higher up, where all the olives are.

Generally, an individual will have all figs or olives in one plot, but since one man's plot adjoins another's on the same terrace with no property marking of any kind, some terraces are confusingly mixed in appearance. There are some apricots and almonds, but they are apparently not too profitable. The fruit of the occasional date palms and prickly pears are harvested, but no particular care is taken of the plants, although on one occasion a man was observed fertilizing a female palm tree with the pollen of a male one.

Wheat is grown in limited amounts, chiefly in plots on which it is not considered worthwhile to spend the time and money required to develop a good orchard.

During the rainy season, the earth is plowed twice, primarily to keep it aerated and loose. In April and June it is plowed again, primarily to cultivate out weeds. After June, the hot, dry sunshine withers all small plants which are not tended.

In the spring, figs, olives and vines are pruned and checked for insect pests of which the only one observed was a species of weevil which bores under the bark. Inspection of, and necessary repairs to, terrace walls are carried on throughout the year.

Apricots ripen and are harvested in May. Almonds and figs come in June and July, and this is also the time for wheat harvesting and threshing. Grapes are harvested in August and September, olives in September and October. The last is the real harvest of the village, in which everyone who is able turns out into the fields to help. Men and boys climb into the trees to shake them or beat them with sticks. Women and girls do a large part of the gathering. The men press those
241 which have been allocated for the purpose into oil. The olive mash which remains
387 after the pressing is either used locally as fertilizer or it is sold to dealers who
512 either resell it as fertilizer or have it made up into paper packets which are widely

used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene. 241 377 312

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a pair of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection. 231 492

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Fe'tdin from the River Ibrahim to the south, and to the village of Madfoun, just north of Batroun, from the River Jawz. The Munsif has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it. 312

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three. 241 311

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 413.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 136; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

241 311 the bottom of the wadi the vegetable mould, then hedges round with stones the walls of crowning fertility to contain and restrain them. From below you gaze upwards at battlements; from above you look down on an amphitheatre of verdure: the very base of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the parapetings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cut up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Urquhart, 1860, Vol. I, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bishmizzeen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problems, which is now the problems of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 462.)

461 554 434 4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1953, p. 7.)

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

STORES

THE two stores which are not in the saha are small, specialized, and not always open. They will not be considered further. Another store building was closed throughout the period of study. The four remaining stores are located in the saha, two (under one roof) on the north side of the main road. One of these is owned by a man of lineage C.XVI, the other by a man of lineage A.III. The building itself is owned by a man of lineage C.XIII. The two stores on the south side of the main road are both somewhat larger than the other two and longer established, going back at least to World War I. Both are owned by members of lineage B.XII. All of these stores are "general stores" from the point of view of the merchandise they carry, and from the point of view of their function as meeting places for the men of the village. [443]

In two of the stores, the one in building 8 and one of those in building 6 (see Fig. 11), the proprietor of each is regularly assisted by one of his sons. The other two work alone for the most part. (The son of one of the latter has recently opened his own store in Jbeil.) To some extent, there is some specialization. The [251] gasoline-driven mill, mentioned earlier, is part of the store in building 8 whose proprietor, at the beginning of the study period, was employing a man of lineage A.VIII (his wife's brother) as miller. Grain was imported and ground to flour which was sold in the village and the Qada. During the period of study, it was decided that this operation was not profitable, it being more practical all around to import flour. The proprietor of the store in building 10 is a butcher who both slaughters animals and sells meat. He also slaughters for the people in Jbeil. The unassisted proprietor of the store in building 6 sometimes sells meat but does not slaughter animals himself. The proprietor of the other store in building 6, established for only one year, is the priest.

By and large, the stores carry the same goods at, apparently, the same fixed [437] prices. There is no barter. Negotiations are carried out on a cash-and-carry basis, and every sale is recorded item by item. An informal and incomplete inventory includes the following: flour, rice, grain, peas, beans, coffee beans, sugar and nuts (set about on the floor in open sacks with prices per kilogram written on tags); vegetables and fruits (in season) set on the floor in large heaps or in baskets; eggs, hung from the ceiling in wire baskets; various types of hard and chewy

443 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of "soup," sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbeil or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

577 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they are in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again.] There is a saying in Arabic [illegible]. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577
621
776 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the *lilies* of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a generalized behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

574
6[illegible]
[illegible] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kahn (1950, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Munsif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the place of ease. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit there with him for a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the shop, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the dukans are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the dukans, they are primarily compact economic institutions, and they are intensively used as foci of social interaction on the part of women just as the dukans are on the part of men. There the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmic slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the suks is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven at the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The woman prepares her dough at home, making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in Munsif and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which five disks at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the suks, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these are "loaves for the farn." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Metwali women, mentioned earlier, work in the farn on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piastres (about seven cents) per ratl (the ratl is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wustiyye section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bidd"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINES

The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Munsif was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Taqla, in Shmlan, and Mar Mamas are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were is not known, but they were certainly Christians. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, as far as we know, as that in Hawran where the Munsifis claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism.

Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 522). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 35 (Bliss, 1912, p. 40). The Ghassanid tribe of Syria, from which the Munsifis assume descent, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1957, p. 78). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 522). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusions as to when and how the ancestors of the Munsifis became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, is certain: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is not a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hourani, 1946, p. 120). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Bliss, 1912, p. 13).

Munsif belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Bliss (1912, p. 44) and Zenkov (1930, p. 19) emphasize the point

775 that these patriarchates are "autocephalous" and independent of each other. The so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than primus inter pares, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox Churches in Europe have developed autocephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was maintained under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the *Millet* system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Moslems, understandably enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Rum," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Hitti, 1951, p. 22). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rum. However, this is often confused with "Rumi," the popular designation for the Melkites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Urthuduksiyya," a term which, like "Qutuqulikiyya," does not roll easily off Arabic-speaking tongues.

794 Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationalism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered externally, all orthodox churches represent free communities. Within the bounds of the ecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zankov, 1929, p. 28).

621 What Zankov says of the Church in general is certainly true of its Arab members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and after his ordination he is left very much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if he has any. He is usually married (Tannous, 1940, p. 541). Zankov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priests' service in no wise lifts them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of person, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of man" (1929, p. 96). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (ibid., p. 97).

346 *Churches and Shrines.* The church of Mar (Saint) Sabba in Munsif is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the northeast end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three free walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and speckled with small gilt stars. At about eye-level,

running around the room, a design with a cross motif has been impressed into the plaster, evidently with a cookie-stamp device. The altar, a stone table, is covered in an white and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to make out its details very well because the sanctuary ([illegible]) is rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the iconostasis, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the wall. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the iconostasis, each with one step up. The iconostasis is surmounted in the center by a large, ornate gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the iconostasis, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the three doors there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rest of the iconostasis is ornamented with pilasters and panels and is painted in various bright colors—brown, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gargoyles, each terminating in a representation of the human hand. From each is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the iconostasis are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath them, on the floor, are two lecterns (flat-topped, square, wooden tables) and two large brass candlesticks which rest on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation ([illegible]) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the [illegible], and in the middle of the floor some wooden benches.

The priest is a [illegible] and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (now in his nineties and entirely inactive) was from [illegible]. There is a priest in [illegible], but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at [illegible] serves his own village and also the others in the [illegible] when he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in [illegible]. The priest wears his long black [illegible] and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, [illegible] work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each shrine ([illegible]) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and iconostasis. Mar [illegible] is not in good repair, and no longer contains any perishable equipment. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mikhail, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the shrines are isolated from each other and from the village. Each shrine (as well as Mar [illegible]) is surrounded by land (planted to olives and grapes) which from time to time has been donated to the shrine by private citizens as *waqf*. Mar [illegible], though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a sizable extent of *waqf* donated recently by [illegible] Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally affiliated to that lineage. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mikhail are in an exactly similar

7: Gulick E-3 (1953) 1955 MZ4 Lebanese MZ

796 423 positions with respect to Maronite Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these chapels themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munsif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munsif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634-644) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonné, 1948, pp. 170-230). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

794 Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munsif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

212 "Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to an approximate universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munsif is certainly one of them, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

872 In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,III).

[872] The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools like that in Munsif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years), at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brevet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brevet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417-18). He may choose

to go to one of the Lebanese private schools which are now rather numerous. Such a school is called *al-madrasa al-waṭaniya* (national school) because it is nonsectarian and does not regularly offer religious instruction (Hourani, 1946, p. [illegible]). Such a school is "national" in the sense that it transcends sectarian barriers. If he does not go to a national school, the ambitious student must go to a private secondary school usually operated under foreign auspices, usually either French (and invariably Catholic) or American. Many of these are boarding schools.

The French and the Americans each have their own educational system in operation in Lebanon. It was they, in fact, who gave the original impetus to modern indigenous education, although there have always been schools in the Arab world. Matthews and Akrawi point out that both systems go their own ways, and are based on entirely different philosophies (1949, p. [illegible]). French Catholic or Protestant American are not the basic elements in the division between them. The pinnacle of the French system is the Université St. Joseph (Jesuit), and that of the American is the American University of Beirut. For a long time the Government considered the American Master of Arts degree equivalent to the French Baccalauréat, *deuxième partie*, which was the minimal standard required ordinarily of governmental appointees. This put holders of the Bachelor of Arts degree at a considerable disadvantage. St. Joseph prepares for the Licence es Lettres but does not confer it; similarly, the American University of Beirut confers the M.A. degree but not that of Doctor of Philosophy. Both institutions confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

At any rate, villagers, such as the Munsifites, who wish to go to college must attend a secondary school in order to qualify. Almost invariably this means boarding school away from the village, which in turn means considerable expense. To some extent the national school fills the gap in the public education system. The one in Munsif, which was started about twenty years ago, has eleven grades, and about one hundred students, many of whom come from other villages in the Qurnī. Graduates of this school must still attend a boarding school if they want to enter college, but the gap is considerably narrowed. There is a moderate tuition fee at the national school, plus books. There are three teachers, the owner and master (A,IX), his wife, and a young woman of the village (C,XXI) who was single at the time of the study.

Both schools operate under the severe handicap of a multiplicity of grades and a paucity of teachers. This is handled by holding all, or several, mathematics classes, for example, at the same time. School hours run from about 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. with two hours off for lunch. The national school has an evening study hall.

The curriculum of the government school follows a fixed formula and schedule to which all government elementary schools are expected to conform. Emphasis is on the "three R's," with some geography and history, the latter heavily laden with patriotic exhortations, and elementary civics and moral lessons which emphasize family relationships (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 420-22).

872 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English ([illegible], p. [illegible]), and in Munsif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the teacher is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munsif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (Arabic and English), and holds his [illegible] and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

578 546 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1936.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are classrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [526] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

626 625 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man council of elders (*[illegible]*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C.XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B.XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1300, of which Munsif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1926 ([illegible], 1952, p. 1). Before 1926, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as shaykh.

The Law of 1930 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50-100 persons, the council has two members; 100-1000, four members; 1000-2000, six members ([illegible], 1955, p. 30). Since World War II, Munsif's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI, A.VIII, A.X, and C.II. 622, 623

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary ([illegible], 1955, pp. 30-31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned. 622, 623

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Munsif, they would have no work." [625]

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khuri* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children consistently address him as *baba* (daddy). *Abuna* (our father), usually *bunna*, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khuri*, *khuriyyeh*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles. 554, 793

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as mukhtar, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called mukhtarah. {622, 554}

The retired physician was called *al-doktor* or Doktoor Mikhail. Here again, his wife was often called *doktoorah*. "Doktoor" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *ḥakim* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique reference to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "*Al-khuri mitl ḥakim.*" ("The priest is like a doctor.") [759, 554]

[illegible]

[illegible] The term [illegible] (teacher) is applied to the schoolteachers, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

[illegible] These titles symbolize the respect which is due certain statuses, and the criteria for respect are varied authority and learning. The only other point which needs to be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the titles, [illegible] appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The custom is very old, of course, whereas [illegible] and [illegible] are new, and the use of [illegible] is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

p.80

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

CHILDBIRTH AND BAPTISM

In the traditional culture of the Middle East (urban, village, or nomad), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granqvist, 1947, pp. 58-60). 844 759 843

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the Summer Resident category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Munsif's housewives of childbearing age live in the city most of the year, and for the most part they clearly prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled continuously. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village. [854] 857

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools. 527 852

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khuṭbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousins. If they are first cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young 583 [584]

Old Young

young old women who are not engaged are supposed to be, in one way or other, chaperoned, either by elders or by the presence of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the predominantly town of Ramallah which is comparable to Munsif in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Zarour, 1953, p. 417).

It was quite clear that there is no formal mechanism for parental arrangement of marriage. One older person said, "It only matters that they love each other." Parents obviously are not disinterested in the matter, however, and their violent disapproval would certainly provoke a family crisis, but it is doubtful that it could prevent the couple from being married if they really were determined. Nevertheless, it is expected that the man will formally request the girl's father's approval before the matter proceeds. The traditional culture provides an escape for couples who face strong family disapproval. This is equivalent to elopement, and it occurs periodically at the present time. Generally, the prospective groom, with the help of friends, secretly removes the girl from the village. He then returns to the village to attempt negotiations, through an intermediary, with her father. All attempts are made to gain his approval, but if they fail, the wedding is likely to go ahead anyway. The ceremony cannot be performed in the church, or, of course, in the bride's house, but it may take place at the groom's house, and this is entirely at variance with the ordinary practice which is underlain by the notion: "The woman may not come into the man's house until after they are married." The full wedding ceremony symbolizes this concept quite neatly. Marriages by elopement are nothing new, and they are perfectly legal, but doubtless they involve disadvantages: the strain of bad feelings in the family, absence of the fun of the full ceremony, and, probably, fewer presents.

The bride price (mahr or [illegible]) is still [illegible] among Moslems. It was asked about by name in Munsif, and the informants, who knew what it was, said that they did not have it now and thought that they had never had it in the village. Chémali (1915-16, p. 917) and [illegible] (1917-18, p. 122) report the bride price among Maronite communities, but this does not necessarily weaken the possibility of the validity of the historical connection of the Munsifis. On the other hand, Miss Zarour (1953, p. 416) says that the bride price was given up only recently in predominantly Greek Orthodox Ramallah. As far as could be ascertained, the couple receives presents—emphasizing household equipment—in equal measure from both families and from friends.

In fact, it would appear that matches are made by the virtual free choice of the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we conformed such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve doubts, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns.")

On the average, the marrying couple of the present day are both members of 582 the village, the man is several years older than the girl, and has been supporting himself for some time. They are married in the church and then proceed to the 585 groom's house for a long and riotous party, if they conform to traditional practices. Lately, however, the party immediately after the ceremony has in many cases given way to the couple's departure on a honeymoon, though a party may be held after they return. If the marriage involves a girl from one of the other villages in al-Qurni, the ceremony is performed in her parents' house, and the party, if any, is held at the groom's house. Among other things, this symbolizes the adoption of the girl into her husband's village and family.

A Wedding. The following account of a wedding and the party following it is a description of the one wedding and wedding party which took place while the writer was present in the village. This wedding was different from most because the bride (*al-'arus*) was from one of the other villages in al-Qurni. The ceremony, therefore, took place in her father's house to which the party of the groom (*al-'aris*) traveled in a short procession of automobiles. Many acts in the series of events were later checked for their generality of practice, and the description omits various items of behavior which appeared clearly to be of a purely individual nature. There was also a peculiar mixture of old and new—an old ceremony and old customs, yet the automobiles and the clothes were all evidence of the cultural change that had occurred.

As the Mansil party got out of their cars and gathered themselves together, members of the bride's party, who had been on the terrace of her house, moved down and stopped at a point on the narrow path halfway between the house and the road. The *darbakky* (drum) was being beaten inside the house, and there were many high-pitched cries and shouts.

The visitors moved down to the bridal group and stopped. Owing to the narrowness of the path, neither group was in a cluster. An older man in *shirwal* and *tarbush* seemed to be barring the way with a long stick. One younger man was firing blanks from a pistol. Young men on both sides sent up the cry, heard constantly from then on: *Ii-yey, al-'aris zaman* ("Cheers for the excellent groom")! —and the same for the bride. There were many informal shouts and calls between various persons—evidently all welcoming phrases.

The groom's party stood still for perhaps five minutes, and then moved ahead between members of the bride's party who shook hands with everyone—*ahlan wa sahlan; mubarak; inshallah 'idkum*. All the members of the greeting party were men except for a couple of old women. All the younger women remained in the house. "The groom's group may not enter the house until it has been bid welcome," someone said afterwards.

There was a huge throng milling around inside. The bride, not yet in wedding dress, was standing in the center of the *maq'ad* surrounded by girls her own age—sisters, cousins, and friends. Her head was bowed and she was crying. Some

585 members of the groom's party sat down on chairs on the right wing of the *maq'ad*. The rest of the *maq'ad* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

After some shifting around, the central section of the *maq'ad* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*šbīn*), the groom, the Munsif priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *maq'ad*, the third (rather formless) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackers were heard from outside.

[535] The *derbakky* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps six women did solo dances in the center of the *maq'ad*. A handkerchief in each hand, the woman either holds them aloft, twirling them, or waves them together as she dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the woman around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

[539] While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *ō-yay al-'arīs wal-'arūs*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "lu-lu-lu-lu-lu," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands raised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *maq'ad*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One [574] feature in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a circle—no pressure, apparently, to babble if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of *'araq* and wine, with small candies and sugared almonds, were passed around at one point.

Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *maq'ad*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *šbīne* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *šbīn* was to his right—bride and groom flanked by *šbīn* and *ishbīneh*. The people pressed closely in on all sides, but many stayed on the periphery, 515 and at every moment throughout the ceremony there was talk among them.

Before the proceedings had gone far, the *ishbīn* took some packages of small candles out of his pocket and the candles were distributed among some of people people close by—mostly children and a few women. The *ishbīn* and the *ishbīneh* (wife of bride's brother, and also a second cousin of the groom) each held one. After the ceremony, these were all blown out informally. They were simply held during the ceremony.

In the ceremony itself all the principals stood throughout. The *ishbīneh*, bride and groom took little active part, and there were few responses. The ceremony opened with both priests chanting—one chanting (reading from the Missal), the other responding with "*amīn*." The lay assistant chanted alone at one point—no other activity taking place then, the priests simply standing by. The two rings lying on the table were blessed, and then the priest made the sign of the cross with each of them in turn on the foreheads and chests of bride and groom. He then put the groom's ring on the bride's finger and the bride's ring on the groom's finger and then exchanged them.

At this point, someone in the crowd handed the *ishbīn* two small white wreaths, made on wire. He put them on the table. They were blessed, and the priest made the sign of the cross again with them as he had done with the rings. Holding each over the heads of the principals, he called them by name as servants of God and repeated this over and over as he several times first held one wreath over one head, the other over the other, and then exchanged them, simply by crossing his own wrists. The wreaths were then set on the bride's and groom's heads. The two principals, *ishbīn* and *ishbīneh*, the lay assistant, and the two priests then joined hands and marched around the table seven times, returning to their original places. The casual babble in the crowd increased considerably as this went on. There was more chanting to follow, and finally the priest gave each three sips of wine from an ordinary glass tumbler.

The end came with no particular announcement—everyone knew; the babble rose to a roar. There were renewed lu-lu-lu's and ii-yay's and the high-one-note cheers of the men. Everyone pressed forward to say *inshallah 'ukbālkum* to bride and groom. The bride began to cry so earnestly that she seemed to have to lean for support on her brother and *ishbīneh*. Others clustered around, and some of the women were also crying openly. There was nothing that would be recognized as comfort per se. Nor did anyone show recognizable signs of being either surprised or upset at these outbursts. Someone said, "Well, she is sad because she is going away to another village—Look, her relatives are crying, too." Aside from this, there was a great deal of kissing and embracing—kissing on both cheeks alternately and repeatedly, particularly among the men. People began drifting toward the door

585 after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Munsif.

In Munsif there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, slapped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included spouses of siblings who were strange to both villages. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *maq'ad* to receive congratulations.

Again, with the principals in the center, people sat themselves down in the *maq'ad*. *'Araq* and wine were offered around. A large crowd of children gathered at each door to watch—staring silently.

[535] The same dance performance as at the ceremony was carried out. However, the soloists included young men as well as women this time. After some solos, five persons, mostly of middle age, locked arms and danced a set of the *dabki*, the principal folk dance of Lebanon; and during the evening it was done several times more.

The bride disappeared for a long period, during which two large tables were brought in and placed parallel to each other in the upper and lower parts of the *maq'ad*. They were set with plates and glasses and bottles of *'araq*. *Tabbuli*, cold *kibbi*, beans and bread were served.

When the bride reappeared, after changing into an ordinary dress, she took her place at the main table. The groom's sisters were active all the time bringing in food and collecting dishes. A large number of persons sat, neither eating nor taking [853] active part—just watching. These included the children. At one point, a woman sitting near the cabinets opened the front of her dress and began nursing a small baby. Later, another woman did the same with one of her small ones, sitting in the same place.

[533] The activity at the head table was enlivened by songs in praise of the bridal couple sung either by men standing behind the chairs or by others sitting down. At the end of each, arms would be raised and the high musical note, mentioned before, sung in unison. One man after another seemed to pick up the solo part rather casually after the previous phrase was finished. Some were well-known and conventional. In others, there would be laughter or nods, as if the singer had made up a clever verse impromptu, or said something with an apt and original turn of phrase. These songs of praise (*madaḥe*) were usually phrased in terms such as those which likened the bridal couple to the stars or the light of the sun. Many seemed to be known by heart by everyone, just as everyone seemed to know the dance steps.

The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a corner, conversing quietly with him.

The table in the upper part of the *maqʿad* was moved away first, and dancing 535 continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete [537] silence fell over the crowd while the *shāʿir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic tale of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple[1] subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal 591 residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. 565 In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited 576 because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings [584] are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Feghali (1935, pp. 296-97) writes in some detail of what he calls a 585 mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Maronite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not [519] rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.*, p. 65). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European 152 Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "dopeyness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo woman's dance is 535 some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

[1] - [A newly married couple of the village--Analyst]

535 ment of which consists of rolling the pelvis. When performed by a professional
dancer, it has indubitable sexual significance for the audience, although it is important to emphasize that the dancer's skill, grace, and general beauty are appraised and valued per se and that her performance never descends to the vulgar level of the contemporary American "exotic" dancer's "bumps" and "grinds."

535 The women's solo dances at this wedding were not professional performances,
585 and they cannot be described as being pelvic dances at all. The important point,
however, is that these dances are performed in the village *only at* weddings.
Granqvist (1935, p. 35) reports the same practice in a Palestinian Muslim village,
although she does not describe the dances themselves. It is altogether possible that
this culture element is standard in the general area. If these dances are merely
decorative, why are they not performed at other festive occasions besides weddings?
There is no immediate answer to this question, and so the way is left open for the
assumption that they have some special significance for weddings. Taking all the
facts into consideration, it appears possible that dances of the type observed were
originally pelvic dances which have been conventionalized almost entirely out of
recognition by the demands of Christian propriety. Indeed, according to Mr. Alan
Horton (who received an eye-witness report), unmistakable pelvic dances are still
performed nonprofessionally at weddings in at least one Palestinian Muslim village.
535 Curt Sachs (1937, p. 36) writes that although pelvic dances on some occasions
842 may have merely the purpose of sexual stimulation, they can also have a symbolic
585 meaning connected with the interest in fertility. It is well known that fertility
symbolism is regularly found in the wedding ceremonies of many cultures, and
there could hardly be a more appropriate occasion than a wedding for fertility
[781] symbolization (however much sublimated), especially in a culture where large
numbers of children are explicitly valued. Furthermore it is known (see, for example, Frazer, 1906) that in Semitic paganism fertility themes and sexual symbolism were very important. These were, in fact, among the "Canaanite abominations" so abhorred by the leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

We are, therefore, tempted to reach the admittedly tentative conclusion that the women's solo wedding dances are vestiges of very ancient fertility themes, reinforced by an on-going concern with the matter of fertility itself. Probably none of the dancers is conscious of the symbolization, but neither are the throwers of rice at Western weddings. Readers may certainly be excused if they are skeptical of the validity of this reasoning, and any better explanation of the various observed phenomena is very welcome.

585 5. The bride's pasting of a lump of raw dough (*majīly*) on the lintel of
842 her husband's house is evidently a widespread practice. Granqvist reports on it
from her Palestinian village, saying that it is supposed to be handed to the bride by her mother-in-law. She adds, "Although the women did not say so, it seemed as if they had a vague idea of some similarity between the sour dough which rises and swells as it ferments and woman who becomes pregnant and increases the

family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 100). This impression, if valid, 585 may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of 942 Munsif who, although she put the majinly over the door and performed other [183] traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of 538 the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munsif the younger generation is more 176 181 willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munsif as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other 764 hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage; and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also [621] a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this second function of the funeral appears to persist unabated among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *maf'ad*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Qurni villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

7: Gulick E-1 (1955) [illegible]

7c4

The priest, joined by the elderly one from [illegible] and the men coming out from [illegible] who was carrying a cross draped in black, led the procession out of the house. They were immediately followed by six men, including the mayor, who carried the coffin on their shoulders. As they reached the open part of the road all the rest filed in behind, the women behind the men, and proceeded slowly to the church whose bell was being tolled by someone. Some groups of people remained outside during the service. The coffin was placed in the center of the church under the chandelier, and the priests stood in a row on the far side of the dais. The men gathered, as usual, toward the front of the church, while the women were seated at the back.

As is customary at funerals, there was no mass, only recitations by the priests and a lay reader. There were several casual instructions spoken by the [illegible] priest to his assistant especially in regard to keeping the censer lit, and there was some talking among the women in the rear. The coffin—polished wood with a cross affixed on top—was on a plain wooden table, with a wreath of artificial flowers on top. Someone put small candles on the coffin at head and foot and was busy lighting the church candles in the early part of the ceremony.

At the end of the service each priest kissed an additional cross which had been laid on top of the coffin. The women remained seated while the coffin was carried out, followed by the men. Some stayed around the church, while others went to the interment which is always attended only by men.

The village graves (sing. [illegible], plur. [illegible]) are of two kinds. There are nine enclosed lineage tombs in fields and on separate terraces. These are generally pyramidal or rectangular structures of stone mostly ornamented with a cross on top. The bodies are inserted into subterranean vaults underneath them. Three of them are no longer used "because they are near the school." These were for lineages A.VIII, A.IX, and A.XIII. The others are for one of the dominant lineages of B. and for A.IV, B.XIII, A.XVII, A.X and A.III. The other graves mostly have no permanent markings and are dug in a row in a terrace somewhere below the [illegible] which is set off by an iron gate. This burial ground is not new.

The burial was in the flat cemetery, not in one of the tombs. A grave about three feet deep had been dug. After some chanting over the coffin it was put into the grave. Stones were placed between it and the sides of the grave and then the earth was filled in. This took some time, and those standing by chatted about such things as the quality of the grapes and figs which were ripening around them, while some lit cigarettes. When it was nearly covered, someone pulled the cross off the top of the coffin. When it was completely covered on a level with the ground, stones were heaped on the grave ("To keep animals off," said someone), and the cross was propped up at its head. As the last stone was placed on the grave, the priest said, *Allah yirhamu* ("May God have mercy upon him"), and the group

returned to the church where there was a large assemblage of men and women 764
greeting each other. There were about three cars from other villages.

The mourners (*al-maḥzūnīn*) lined up outside the church—the deceased's son, two cousins (patrilateral) of her husband, and four of her nephews. Every-one went by, shaking hands with each mourner and saying *Allah yirḥamu*, or some other conventional condolence.

Such was the funeral of an old woman with few relatives. Comparatively few people came from outside the village, but al-Qurni was well represented, nevertheless, and certainly Munsif was. "Most of them are busy working today," said an informant, "but they will come on Sunday to say *Allah yirḥamu*."

Funerals are followed by a period of forty days during which the immediate 765
family of the deceased do not attend church and such happy rituals as weddings are not performed for anyone. This mourning period is terminated by another church ritual called *al-jinnaz al-ʾarbaʿīn*, which was usually translated "the forty days' remembrance." The ceremony brings to a close the period during which those who were unable to attend the funeral are expected to pay at least one formal call on the chief mourners. Those who did attend the funeral are of course free to make additional visits also. One goes in the evening and stays perhaps half an hour in company with a dozen or so others. The conversation is on general topics. The double significance of these condolence visits in the villagers' eyes is revealed by the following statement:

> "If someone or more than one from every family does not go, it is an insult, and people will be angry. There was a man here who lost his only son. He cried and ate nothing for a week. This is not good. At such times, they must have someone with them, to talk to them and help them forget."

The writer attended one ceremony of *jinnaz al-ʾarbaʿīn*. The deceased had 764
been a widower in his early forties who had three adolescent children. The death
was unexpected, and the loss was very keenly felt in the village because of the 765
general circumstances and because the deceased had been very well liked and highly respected not only in the village but also at the American University of Beirut where he had been employed for many years. A priori we would expect such a loss by death to elicit a maximum response in the village and the district. It did. The report was that over four hundred people attended the funeral itself, and "there were many, many cars."

The "Remembrance" took place on a Sunday, after the regular service, two 765
and a half months, rather than forty days, after the funeral. This deliberate postponement put the Remembrance into the summer, when mobility is easier, so that all who wanted to would be able to come. Apparently there was a delay in some arrivals coming from a distance, and the procession did not arrive at the church till nine thirty. Since ordinarily the attendants for the Remembrance are present at the mass, too, they had to wait for those coming from Tripoli and Beirut.

765 The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It appeared around the corner of the church led by a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a circular arrangement of flowers and candles on her head. The women were followed by the men, and certainly well over a hundred and fifty were present. One person said later that he thought "the whole village" was there. The effort expended on the part of many to come from far away attests to the strength of this secondary rite of passage in drawing the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the lectern in the middle of the church, and the priest prayed for about five minutes. That was all. The whole crowd left the church again. There was no riotous ringing of the bell afterward, as is ordinarily done after regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the women mourners swathed in black, withdrew by themselves. The minimal lineage of the deceased appeared to consist only of his own immediate family and that of his first cousin. The mourners consisted of the first cousin, who had automatically become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the heads of household of the two minimal lineages most closely connected, genealogically, to that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quiet, general, conversation.

765 621 The unifying effect of the primary and secondary funerals should be clear from these accounts. The fact that its effect extends outside the village to include the immediate district, which in the case of Munsif is very clearly defined, is also significant. Here we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of al-Qurni during the winter, a large number of summer residents of Munsif were among those who attended his funeral. Chémali (1909, p. 50) says that even in districts where there is considerable mixture of religions (unlike al-Qurni) funerals serve to bring together people of different religions in an event of common concern, thus somewhat easing intersectarian tensions.

[626] Young and old alike, the Munsifis were unanimous in declaring that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us *must* go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it may mean great inconvenience for him, but he goes—we go—everyone goes—because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

ECCLESIASTICAL RITUALS

PRAYERS AND THE USE OF SHRINES

788 In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village.

In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are 778
none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayer. However varied the pattern may be, qualitatively it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and conscience.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of re- 778
course to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this multanimity is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan
prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful 755
primarily in the fulfillment of vows mostly made in connection with the curing of 787
disease, the inducement of conception, the determination of the sex of an unborn 842
child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Munsif, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the 788
walls—and the offering of candles or olive oil which are burned in the shrine. 778
One informant also suggested a penitential element—walking to the shrine barefoot
or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance [785]
from each other and from the house cluster, and a person is not likely to go near them except with *deliberate* intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the [782]
writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained); fresh paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil in all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, none of whom 778
was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been 155
investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the help which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints checking up on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? it might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, to be sure, do not eliminate all

778 dangers to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the
755 problem of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the shrines represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of [788] decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be [778] mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (contrast Chémali, 1910, pp. 742–44).

ORDINARY MASS

796 Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Bliss (1912, p. 38) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 123). Zankov (1929, p. 109) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Munsif, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Bliss, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be used by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a threshing-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be conjured from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (*Ibid.*, p. 126.)

None of these uses outside the church building was observed in the village.

[779] Zankov says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures; (2) Christocentrism; (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 158–59). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "so-and-so is baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zankov, 1929, pp. 87–88.)

795 Zankov says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Chris-
tian sects have not fallen from Grace. "This broad-minded attitude and practice,"
798 he concludes, "explains [its] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

bers" (1959, pp. 80-83). As far as doctrine alone is concerned, this generalization 713 appears to be true of the Arab Orthodox, but among them, nevertheless, sect 715 affiliation as a focus of in-group loyalty is strong.

Nino describes the Mass and Sacraments of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church 716 at some length (1912, pp. 130–47), and it is not necessary to repeat his material here in a body. The practices in Munsif appear to conform to his generalizations.

Ordinarily, the priest goes to the Church about seven in the morning on Sundays, but the congregation does not begin to come in till about eight o'clock. In the intervening period he prepares the elements behind the iconostasis. Each Sunday one housewife presents five loaves of holy bread (*qurbaan*) which are used in the service. Apparently all the women in the village take their turn at this. The loaf is about the same size as a regular loaf but is about an inch thick. In the middle of each loaf a device is impressed with a wooden stamp (*taabi'*). The device bears four pairs of Greek letters arranged crosswise which are an abbreviation of "Jesus Christ conquers."

The following is a brief description of one Sunday mass which was attended early in the summer. It is representative of several which were attended.

At eight fifteen only the priest and an elderly man were in the church, chanting responsively. At that point, a middle-aged man entered, took his post at one of the lecterns and began chanting. About five minutes later, a young man came in, went to the other lectern and joined in. Next, three small boys entered and sat down in the wooden stalls. Then another young man arrived and went behind the iconostasis to assist the priest. After that, several more young and middle-aged men came in in short order. In all, about fifteen men were present, together with about an equal number of children of both sexes and about half a dozen young women, one of whom had prepared the *qurbaan* for that day.

The chanting was maintained continuously, with certain individuals who are regular attendants taking noticeable part. Toward the end of the service, the priest took the Host into the congregation, carrying the chalice and plate, which held small pieces of *qurbaan*, on a silver tray. His assistant walked backwards in front of him, holding up a cross. Each member of the congregation bowed as the Host approached him. After this, the assistant took up a collection and distributed *qurbaan* to each person present as well as to several who had been sitting outside all the time.

After the service, the young men, as usual, took turns ringing the bell, leaping off the ground and pulling the cord with all their weight. Others stood around chatting.

The stores are open every Sunday. [444]

FEASTS AND FASTS

Every day of the year is a saint's day, but special observances are made only on a few. Besides Easter and the various special holy days in Lent, the Syrian Greek

796 Orthodox Church sets aside twenty days during the year, one or more in every month, when there is a special mass in the church, and work is supposedly suspended. Fourteen of these feast days are common to the Maronites and the Orthodox; six are exclusively Orthodox—St. George, Decapitation of John the Baptist, Demetrius the Martyr, Archangel Michael, St. Nicholas, and the Conception of Hannah (Bliss, 1912, p. 342). It was fairly evident that in Munsif only some of these feast days are given special recognition, in addition to some others, not on Bliss's list.

Exclusive of Lent and Easter, the special feasts celebrated in the village which correspond to some of those in Bliss are as follows:

1. Christmas. (*ʿīd al-mīlād*)
2. December 26. Commemoration of the Virgin (*ʿīd as-sayyida*)
3. January 1. New Year's and Circumcision of Jesus. (*ras as-sine*)
4. January 6. Baptism of Jesus (*ʿīd al-ʿaṭas*)
5. March 25. Annunciation (*ʿīd bishara*)
6. April 23. St. George (*ʿīd Mar Jirjis*)
7. August 6. Transfiguration (*ʿīd ar-rab*)
8. September 14. Finding of the Cross (*ʿīd aṣ-ṣalīb*)
9. November 8. St. Michael (*ʿīd Mar Mukhail*)
10. December 6. St. Nicholas (*ʿīd Mar Niqula*)

Those feasts which appear to be special to the village are:

1. January 30. Feast of the Three Moons (*ʿīd ath-thalatha qamr*)
2. June 24. St. John (*ʿīd Mar Ḥanna*)
3. September 2. St. Mama (*ʿīd Mar Mama*)
4. October 7. St. Sarkis (*ʿīd Mar Sarkis*)

In addition, Palm Sunday, Easter, and the day after Easter are special feast days.

On these seventeen holy days, one or another village family "catches the feast." The wife prepares *qurban* for the special mass, and the family entertains the priest and his family at a sumptuous dinner. It was not possible to ascertain from the priest himself why certain families had certain feasts and not others, why some had feasts and others none at all. His explanation only suggested that catching the feast was traditional in some patrilines. However, the feasts of SS. John and Nicholas are "caught" by men whose names are Ḥanna and Niqula, and this is true in principle also of the Feast of the Finding of the Cross whose "catcher" is named Ṣaliba (Cross). Other of the local holy days are celebrated obviously because they are the days of the saints of the village's church and shrines. The significance of the Feast of the Three Moons was not discovered. In listing these feast days and those who "caught" them, the informant remarked that one of the catchers was a Protestant, "But he does it anyway, for his family."

The ten feast days of the Church which are not given general recognition in the village are celebrated by a special mass, but no one stops work and no one

"catches" the feast. For example, the Feast of Elijah, Mar Ilyas, (July 20) passed 796
without much remark. It was said that many people often went on this day to Bukhia's of whose church Mar Ilyas is the patron saint, but this activity was not observed. At Ghazzum, there is a man who every year summons the priest to help him "catch" the Feast of the Forty Martyrs (*'id al-arba'ini shahada*), March 9. It may be that all twenty of the Church's feast days are given special recognition in al-Qurna, if not in each of its individual villages.

The most important part of the religious year is unquestionably Easter "the 785
Great Feast" (*'id al-kabir*), preceded by Lent which is the longest of its nu- 796
merous fast periods enjoined by the Church. Orthodox fasts forbid the eating of meat, eggs, cheese, and milk. Lent is preceded by a week (*marfa'*) during which meat is eaten every day, which is not the ordinary practice. The Thursday of [786]
marfa' is known as *al-khamis as-sakir*—"Drunken Thursday." On this day tipsy riotousness is expected and excused.

The first week in Lent, following *marfa'*, is *jum'a al-bayad*, "the week of whiteness." Eating meat is strictly forbidden. Only "white" things—eggs, leben, and cheese are supposed to be eaten. The following week, these also must be forbidden until Easter. Until Easter, no one is supposed to eat breakfast; many abstain from coffee and from drinking water in the morning. It was stated, however, that many people do not adhere absolutely to fast regulations, and there is considerable variation in this aspect of religious behavior.

On Palm Sunday (*ash-sha'nine*) palm fronds are prepared by the head of 796
every household in which there is a child under seven years of age. Once a little 852
child has had this done for him, it is not done for him again. The fronds are hung with cakes and candles, and placed in the middle of the church. After mass, the people go outside with the fronds and gather around the priest for a further blessing. Then everyone rushes on the fronds and pulls off all the eatables. Between Palm Sunday and Good Friday there are evening prayers every day in the church. 796

On Good Friday (*al-jum'a al-maslub*) everyone goes to church, even those
who are in mourning, since it is a sad occasion. Mourners do not ordinarily go to [765]
regular mass nor to mass on Easter. It was said that even mourners of a year's standing or more may not go to mass at all—except on Good Friday. If there is no priest in any of the other Qurna villages, the people there come to Munsif for the service.

The Good Friday mass was attended by at least four hundred persons. It is featured by the placing of a table (*na'sh*) in the center of the church. This is used at ordinary funerals for holding the coffin. Each house prepares a crown of flowers and candles which is placed on the *na'sh*. Towards the end of the mass, the *na'sh* is held aloft by four to six tall men near the door. All the people pass underneath it, out the door, and enter through the second door again.

On Easter eve of the year of this study, a special party for the adolescents

796 and young adults was held in the school—tickets sold for the benefit of the club's projected volleyball court. The party lasted all night long, and before four in the morning the revelers began ringing the church bell. Mass on Easter is regularly at dawn, but this was an innovation. At the party there were only European dances, [536] no *dabke*.

On Easter, even more villagers were in attendance at mass than there had been on Good Friday, and they included all the city residents who could possibly come.

Easter is a regularly scheduled rite of intensification. The day after Easter the priest goes to each house with holy water and blesses it, sprinkling the house with the water from an olive branch. During Holy Week he acquires a great surplus of *qurban* which he distributes to other villages in al-Qurni.

SECULAR RECREATION

IT should not be necessary to read very deeply between the lines of the two 517
previous chapters in order to understand that there is much of what Americans would call "recreational behavior" which is tightly integrated with economic and religious behavior. Stores and bakeries are foci of social interaction. Rites of passage and other rituals are occasions for parties and celebrations.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Munsif is a new institution which appears to have been 575
started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. If it has any other purpose, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it.

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an everyday 536
gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The 545
village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults seem always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the observed phenomenon in the village seems clearly to be part of the recent acculturative process.

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bishmizzin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Munsif. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bishmizzin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or derived from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1943, pp. 341–42).

536 545 Presumably the development in Munsif was similar. The plays are given on the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (candles with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab themes have been used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

526 Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In Munsif, volleyball is *the* game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "intramural," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qurnî. In 1951, the first team played a team from Brummana, a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in or-

575 ganizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to Afif Tannous, and probably the village mentioned in it is Bishmizzin.

> A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own team. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volley ball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which time hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villages with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 438-39.)

DANCING

535 Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabki* are looked upon at best with sentimental attach-

ment by most of the middle-aged people and with undisguised derision by many, 535 though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *agal* and *kuffiyeh*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munsifiis seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, [179] and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munsif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Cumparsita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1945, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in turn, featured by the playing mostly [575] of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is 533 merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today 534 by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it 577 574 implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, 574 although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

574 of a coffee house, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private houses. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

521 524 517 These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book. "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and suit-names. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board-games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*tawli*) of which there are three versions, *dama* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and chess (*shitranj*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word-games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are optical tricks (e.g., the series of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected/block letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical technicalities.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *qafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

574 562 In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

621 574 Those villagers who live and work away from *Munsif* in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Munsif" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

lished no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any 621
strong ties with non-Munsifiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off 574
from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption 276
appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly 177.
strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment 20
overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers.
Owing to its lack of electricity, Munsif has only three battery-run radios, and this 207
instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which 516
show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely 204
distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there
is in Munsif some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generaliza- [517]
tions can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

THE INVISIBLE SKELETON OF THE COMMUNITY

THE LINEAGES

613 614 621 IN the chapter "Population" the kinship structure of the village was discussed in a preliminary way. It was pointed out that everyone in the Core Group except those in the Affiliate Families, is patrilineally descended from the founder of the village. Most are also matrilaterally descended from him. These descendants are divided into three so-called Maximal Lineages which at the present time appear to have little more than genealogical significance. Membership in a given maximal lineage is based on patrilineal descent from one of the three sons of the founder. These three brothers were the founders of the three maximal lineages. Each maximal lineage is subdivided into a number of so-called Minimal Lineages which are of unequal size and generational depth. Membership in a minimal lineage is, again, based upon patrilineal descent from its founder, and the name of the 613 551 founder is the name of the lineage. The names of the minimal lineages are the "family" names which the villagers give when they are required to in administrative situations outside the village. Among such situations are the filling out of government forms like identity cards, school and college registrations, and so forth. Traditionally, family, or lineage, names were rarely used in the village itself for personal identification, and this remains true today. Every individual, male or female, has his own name to which he adds his father's which, by rule, is always different from his own. (In Munsif, there is only one exception to this rule, and in this case the birth and naming of the child after his father occurred in Australia.) Thus, if Jurjis is the son of Ḥanna, he is known as Jurjis Ḥanna. In principle, this usage is exactly the same as that of the Bedouin who would call him Jurjis *ibn* Ḥanna. In Munsif, the *ibn* ("son of") is omitted, but it is certainly understood.

Theoretically, Jurjis Ḥanna, if asked, could complete the naming of himself by adding his grandfather's and great-grandfather's names, and so on, until he came to the name of the founder of his minimal lineage, and this name is the name of his lineage. In practice, the intermediary steps are omitted, and he would give, if required, his own, his father's and his lineage-founder's name (cf. Tannous, 1942, p. 234). Occasionally a man will be known by his own and his mother's, rather than his father's, name as a second name. Such cases are considered idiosporadic, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's, family name (cf. Granqvist, 1930, p. 39). 618 351

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all* of us in Munsif return (rāji') to Mazmur Jurjis al-Khazni." Of these two wider connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, *it* appears that in many cases a stronger identification is *felt* with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Mazmur Jurjis al-Khazni and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 3 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Ramallah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zarour, 1953, p. 432). 612 621

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter. [602]

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count *for*? In a negative *function*, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so. 613 582 [528]

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re- 613

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TABLE 8. LINEAGE DEVELOPMENT AND NUMBER OF MALES, ACCORDING TO GENEALOGICAL GENERATION

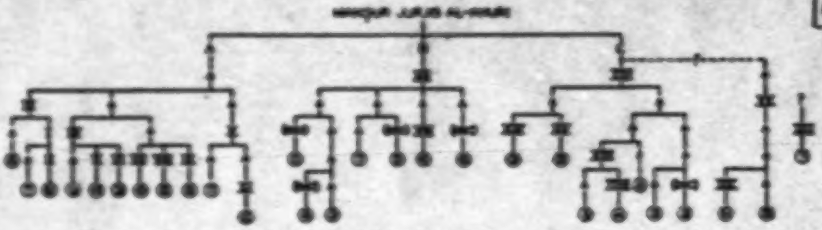
GENERATION:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		A-1	1	2	I-1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1
						II-1	1	2	3	6	3		
				III-1	1	1	3	3	4	15	19	6	
					IV-1	1	2	3	5	6	7		
						V-1	3	6	14	3			
						VI-1	2	3	5				
						VII-1	5	8	10	4			
						VIII-1	4	11	24	21	12		
					1	IX-1	4	2	5	4	3		
					X-1	2	2	4	8	12	8	4	
							XI-1	4	7	7	1	4	
		B-1	1	4	XII-1	1	1	1	1	2	2		
					1	3	5	3	5	7			
					XIII-1	1	2	3	11	7	5		
	1						Dec.-1	5	13	9	1		
					Dec.-1	1	2	4	6	6			
					Dec.-1	1	1	2	2				
					Dec.-1	3	6	8	7	6			
					XIV-1	3	3	8	9	11			
					XV-1	1	6	5	10	1			
		C-1	2	2	(XVI)-3	2	7	12	16	15			
						XVII-1	2	2	3	5			
							XVIII-1	1	2	2	3		
							XIX-1	1	2	6	3	2	1
				XX-1	1	1	2	1	2	4	11	17	
					XXI-1	2	1	2	3	8	11	12	
							Dec.-1	2	3	2			
NUMBER OF LINEAGES:				2	11	7	3						

[578]

ported. If a feud, or some other crisis calling for group loyalty, occurred, quite possibly loyalty lines would, minimally, follow lineage lines. In this connection, one informant said with evident pride that there were never any feuds in the village. The writer has no evidence that the present behavior associated with the lineages represents any recent change, with the exception of a possible change in marriage patterns which will be discussed later.

Origin of Minimal Lineages. A word concerning the origin of the minimal lineages is in order (see Table 8 and Fig. 5, both of which are abstractions from village genealogies, showing males only, which were in the possession of the priest). The minimal lineages are clearly segmentations of the maximal lineages, but beyond this we cannot, unfortunately, make any very conclusive statements.

The writer asked several informants, on many occasions and in many different ways, why certain ancestors were the eponymous founders of the minimal lineages. Were they, for example, famous men? No one was sure, even in regard to his own lineage. The only suggestion was that perhaps when the families grew too large, they divided. It was also repeatedly stated that it has only been during the last fifty years or so that lineage names have been used at all, because the government began to insist that everyone have a "family" name. "So they all returned to their grandfathers." (The term "grandfather" was used loosely in the village, and Manşur Jurjis al-Khuuri was often referred to as "our grandfather.") No one could say why they "returned to" a particular "grandfather" and not to another one. Thus, for some time the writer thought that perhaps the minimal lineages were recent arbitrary creations for the sake of providing names. It is possible, but it seems unlikely. Minimal Lineage III, for example, with its *waqf* trust, is an ancient institution, and there is no reason to suppose that it is exceptional in this respect.



A, B, C = Eponymous Ancestors of Maximal Lineages
I-XXI = Eponymous Ancestors of Minimal Lineages
(Dec) = Eponymous Ancestors of Deceased Lineages
Numbers in O = Number of Generations Descended from the Last Specifically Indicated Individual in Each Patriline

FIG. 5. GENEALOGY OF LINEAGES

Table 8 indicates that the patrilines of the village were not very large or proliferated at the time when most of the eponymous ancestors were actually alive, and hence the formation of the minimal lineages may have been an arbitrary procedure on the part of the descendants of certain men, though not nearly so recently as some informants seemed to suggest. Size of groups or enmities between them might have been deciding factors. The present sizes of the lineages, since there is such a wide range of size, offer no clue. Lineage VIII, which might have been expected to divide long ago on account of its size has not done so, and there are

613 no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in XI and XII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, name. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 8 and Figure 5 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 5. The mode is six generations; the average is nearer seven than six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuuri in Table 8, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 5. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The maximal lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all teknonymous, being Abi Yuunis, Abi 'Awwad, and Abi Naṣr, respectively. Their sons were Yuunis, 'Awwad, and Naṣr, respectively. 'Awwad and Naṣr are represented as XII and XVI, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 5 places the eponymous ancestors of these lineages in the earlier of the alternative generations to emphasize the following fact: The names of Maximal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Maximal Lineage A, the largest, has been obliterated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could not see any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 5 suggests that there are three patterns of derivation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers; (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we must either accept the genealogy on which Table 8 and Figure 5 were based at its face value, or not give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very [173] inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of explaining history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Daghestani (1932, pp. 178–79) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

613
601 The generic term for lineage which is used in Munṣif is *'ayli* (properly:

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ʿāʾila). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is being identified, the word *bayt* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference *'ayli*, in Munṣif as among urban dwelling Muslims of Syria (Daghestani, 1932, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and for kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention. L 613 601

THE FAMILY UNIT

It is the firm impression of the present writer that in Munṣif it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of other writers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1944, p. 537) and Weulersse (1946, pp. 216–17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Munṣif, assuming that the interpretation given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division of opinion may be based, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenstadter has recently reported (1952, pp. 382–83) a specific case of the extended family among acculturated Egyptian Muslim villagers. L 594 ME 594

Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the Core Group consists of eighty-seven households, each an independent residence unit. The alternative figure, eighty-nine, indicates the fact that in winter, two of the households are each split into two independent households. In summer, these pairs—they are brothers—and their families live together in the village; in winter they live separately in Beirut. These are two or four residence units depending on the season. L 592

Of this total of independent households only two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commuter), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that all the rest are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of these two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant whether extended families existed or ever had existed in Munṣif. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have them in Munṣif, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and her son's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always enemies because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About this *ḥamah-kinnah* trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munṣif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families *as social units* regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent stresses and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a *stronger* social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedawin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Daghestani, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

593 There are, indeed, some indications in Munṣif of in-group mechanisms extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. These are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. [428] Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tannous, 1942, pp. 232–34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

593 613 621 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrangement, but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of maximal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

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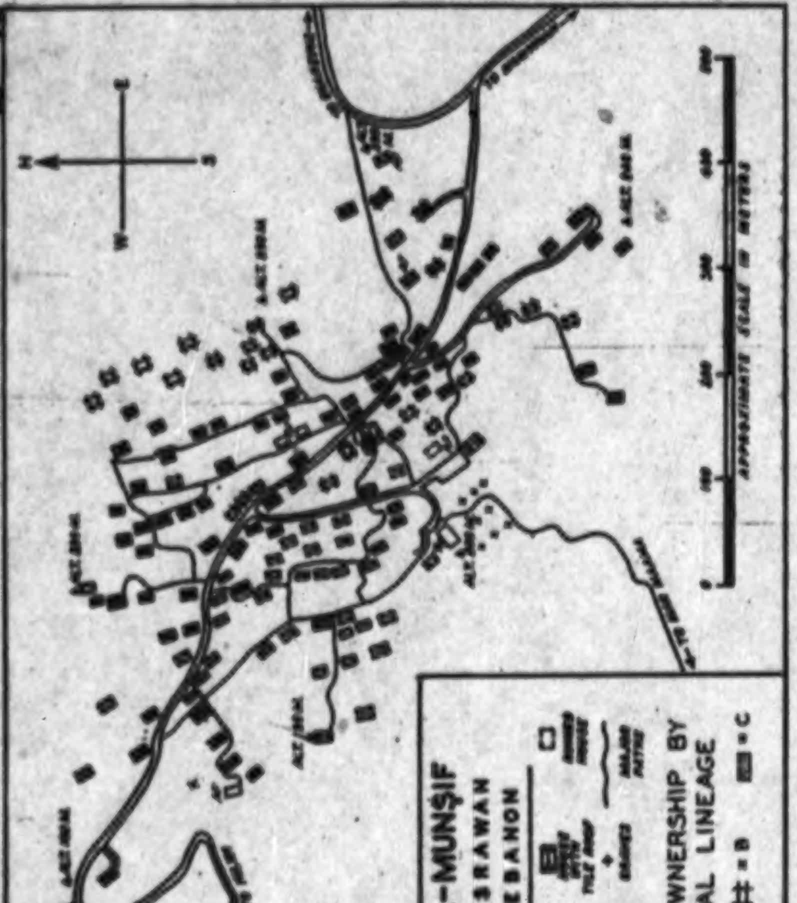
AL-MUNṢIF
KIṢRAWAN
LEBANON
HOUSE WITH FLAT ROOF
HOUSE WITH TILE ROOF
RUINED HOUSE
AUTOMOBILE ROADS
GRAVES
MAJOR PATHS
HOUSE OWNERSHIP BY MAXIMAL LINEAGE
= A
= B
= C
N
S
E
W
0
100
200
300
400
500
APPROXIMATE SCALE IN METERS

FIG. 6. AL-MUNṢIF: HOUSE OWNERSHIP BY MAXIMAL LINEAGE

[page 111 is a figure]

593
613 The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most
621 minimal lineage clusterings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each
593 other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 157), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

592 If this material* can be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munṣif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munṣif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munṣif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

551 Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilines despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 13). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Munah, seven; Nabiiha, Fariidi, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jurjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'iim, ten examples; Ilyaas (Elijah), Mukhail or Michel, and Fu'ad, nine each; Ḥanna (John), eight; Iliia (also Elijah), seven; Wadii', six; and Nakhli, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

*[See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

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L 551

Fu'ad
Fahim
Fawzi
Fadi

or,

Na'imi
Na'im
Nabih
Nahi
Nabiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiq
Shafiq
Samir
Munir
'amad
Ziyad
Munah

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a pretty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solid unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents. L [181 593]

Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two). L 551 601

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munsif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munsif. L 601 ME 601

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The Arabic kinship terminology, which appears to be basically the same wherever Arabic is spoken, allows for the very precise designation of a large number of close relatives. Morgan included it in his "descriptive" category of kinship systems, and it is certainly a better example than many of those he put into this now obsolete theoretical category. In more modern terms, it is bifurcate collateral in type: each parent is distinguished from his siblings, mother's siblings are distinguished from father's siblings, "aunts" are distinguished from "uncles." These distinctions are continued into the children's generation simply by prefixing *ibn* (son of) or *bint* (daughter of) to the appropriate term. Thus, eight different first cousin statuses are linguistically defined: male and female patrilateral and matrilateral cross and parallel cousins. With these fine distinctions in mind, it is rather surprising, perhaps, to discover that there is only one term for "grandfather" and "grandmother," respectively.

Turning to the affinal system, it has long been a point of interest that in Arabic, "ego" calls his or her father-in-law *'amm*. The basic meaning of *'amm* is "father's brother." However, in Munṣif, and probably elsewhere, *'amm* is used for "father-in-law" vocatively only. There is a special referential term, *ḥamu*, for "father-in-law," whose feminine form, *ḥama*, means "mother-in-law." So much for general characteristics, wherein, actually, lies the substance of controversial theoretical interpretations.

Everyone is agreed that kinship terms are linguistic symbols of kinship statuses. Different kinship statuses, and the many different interaction patterns between them, call for various types of behavior and attitude on the part of any one individual. This much agreed, the longstanding anthropological controversy over the functional significance of kinship systems seems to revolve around this question: Must there be a one-to-one correspondence between the patterns of "lumping" and of differentiation of certain relatives in any one kinship system, and the prevailing behaviorial and attitudinal patterns concerning relatives in the culture which uses that system? One side of the controversy tends to insist on "yes" as the answer to this question. The proponents of this view have produced many brilliant analyses of kinship systems, but they always encounter some difficulty in explaining a few usages whose functional significance is elusive. The other side of the controversy in effect seeks to solve this difficulty by answering the basic question with "Not necessarily always." The reason for this view has been expressed as follows: "In modern parlance, kinship terminologies are pattern systems of semantic logic, highly variable in detail and historically derivable, but also classifiable." As such they cannot be "construed as *mere* reflections or indices of marriage or other social institutions." (Kroeber, 1952, p. 172. Emphasis mine.) In this connection, we are reminded of Sapir's remark that "all grammars leak," and if the present writer's understanding is correct, Kroeber's opinion is that kinship terminologies are grammars of kinship behavior. If we put Sapir and Kroeber together, we have a linguistic "explanation" of what seem, from the sociological, "functional," point of view, to be difficult inconsistencies. In the discussion which follows, both the "linguistic" and the "functional" approaches (these particular terms are used merely for the sake of convenience in identification) will be used. L 601 ME 601

Let us look first at certain aspects of the kinship terminology which do not appear to correlate very closely with kinship behavior. Eggan, for whose work this writer has the most profound respect, says that the burden of proof is now on Kroeber's theory of linguistic priority rather than on his own "sociological" approach (Eggan, 1950, p. 295). These Arabic data might give heart to Kroeber and pause to Eggan.

L 601 593

First, the distinctions between all the various types of first cousin, which are carried to the ultimate in precision, are mostly "unnecessary" from the functional point of view. In Munṣif, only patrilateral parallel cousins appear to be set apart in any way from the other first cousins of ego. This is because they alone are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the behavioral implications which this status carries. But even this distinction does not appear to obtrude very much into everyday relationships. In the latter, ego seems to regard *all* his first cousins as people to whom he is bound equally closely by blood and affection. (This is a rather important matter, discussion of which cannot be completed until we come to the subject of marriage regulations.) Why, then, has not some "blanket" term been adopted for all first cousins? The answer is that to introduce such a change would do violence to the kinship system as a "system of semantic logic." All things considered, the most likely procedure would be to extend the term *ibn* (or *bint*) *‘amm* (father's brother's son or daughter) to all first cousins, thus eliminating *ibn* (or *bint*) *‘ammit* (father's sister's son or daughter), *ibn* (or *bint*) *khal* (mother's brother's son or daughter), and *ibn* (or *bint*) *khalit* (mother's sister's son or daughter). This would result, for example, in the son of a *khal* being called *ibn ‘amm*, and this would seem so grotesque and absurd that either the whole idea would be rejected or the term *khal* itself would be replaced by *‘amm*. This last would be very unlikely. To Arabs *khal is* "mother's brother" and *‘amm is* "father's brother." They are two different statuses, conveniently distinguished and impossible to equate. Besides, there are behavioral distinctions. Ego's *‘amm* is automatically expected to render his nephew assistance. His *khal* is not.

Most of these difficulties could be avoided, of course, by the adoption of a foreign term such as the English or French "cousin." But this seems unlikely because the Arabs could not be expected to replace an element of their own beloved language with a foreign word, especially in such an affect-laden area as this. L 601

During many conversations in English, informants made frequent use of the term "cousin," and it soon became obvious that as often as not they were referring to cousins more distant than first cousins. Upon investigation, it was learned that in Arabic *ibn* (or *bint*) *‘amm* is regularly used in such cases, even when the relative in question is related to ego through his mother, although a matrilateral kinsman (*ʾarīb nisawʾi*) more distant than first cousin is often not felt

601 to be very much of a relative. This is, of course, a classificatory device employed largely for the sake of convenience. It is possible to designate exactly a patrilateral second cousin, for example, in English by something like "my father's father's brother's son's son." In Arabic it is exactly the same, in reversed order: *ibn ibn khayy abu bayyi*. Obviously such awkward designations are to be avoided if possible, and usually they are unnecessary. If pressed in such a case as the example given above, a Munṣifi would say, "Yes, he is my *ibn 'amm*, but of course everyone knows he is not my father's brother's son (*ibn khayy bayyi*). He is my *ibn 'amm*, but there are six faces (*sitti wujuuh*) between us."

"Face"-counting is a short-hand device for reckoning the degree of relationship between two people. Between first cousins, for example, there are four faces, ego (1), ego's father (2), ego's father's brother (3), and ego's father's brother's son (4). The principle of the thing is to count up and down two lines of direct descent, crossing from one to the other at the point of closest connection between them. This is a sibling relationship, rather than a common ancestor.

In any case, we now see that *ibn 'amm* can be an ambiguous term. It happens, however, that there is a method for insuring that when one says *ibn 'amm*, one means first cousin only, and this is by adding the word *laazim* to the base term. Hilma Granqvist (1931, p. 80) encountered exactly the same usage among Palestinian Muslim villagers. The word itself is derived from the root LZM which denotes compulsion, and Granqvist says that its use in this context is a reference to the preferential parallel cousin marriage of the Muslims.

This brings us to other suggestions of this marriage pattern in the kinship terminology used in Munṣif. It is possible that the single pair of terms for both sets of grandparents is a reflection of it. Patrilateral parallel cousins, of course, have one set of grandparents, their fathers' parents, in common. In a strongly patrilineal organization, these statuses are far more important than mother's parents, and it may be that one set of grandparent terms is sufficient simply because reference to and interaction with grandparents is almost always with fathers' parents only. This, however, is speculative, and the argument is admittedly tenuous.

582 Much more striking is the use of *'amm* in address to the father-in-law
601 Davies (1949, pp. 249–50) seems to accept this without question as an indication of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. For the Muslims, among whom this type of marriage is still preferred and very often practiced, this interpretation seems clearly to be correct, for in such a case, the father-in-law of one spouse is necessarily also his or her father's brother. Now, however, consider the Munṣifi who says *'amm* to his father-in-law, yet whose Church forbids, ordinarily, the marriage of *all first* cousins, and whose forebears have been speaking Arabic for at least a thousand years. Davies reports his Palestinian Christian informant as saying that Palestinian Christians tend to regard their parallel cousins as potential spouses, at least. The present writer finds it difficult to believe that this is true, as a general rule in any case. Certainly there were no indications of it in Munṣif.

If we think in terms of kinship and marriage behavior only, the use of *'amm* for father-in-law and of *lamim* to specify first cousin appears to be nothing less than the "leaking" of kinship grammar or the result of some sort of linguistic inertia. It is not necessary to leave the matter at this, however, in the case of *'amm*.

'Amm meaning father-in-law may have originated as an extension from "father's brother," but its continued use in Christian Arab cultures is, in this writer's opinion, due to the fact that *'amm* has an extra-kinship use. It is the standard term of address used by a younger person to a man of his or her parents' generation, even if they are not relatives at all. Very frequently, in this use, the term is prefixed to the addressee's name. The usage is obviously not due to mistaken assumptions of kinship, nor is it a means of establishing fictional kinship. It is an honorific. Brenda Seligman (1923, p. 57) reports this use of *'amm* among the Sudanese Kababish, and she says that it is universal among Arabic speakers.

Jiddi (my grandfather) is sometimes addressed to a man so much older than the speaker that he seems like a grandfather, but the occurrence of this is not very common. (*'ammit*, "father's sister" and *sitt*, "grandmother," are used analogously with women.)

Concerning this usage, a young adult informant pointed out that unless one 602 uses a teknonymous form of address, *'ammi* is the only way in which an elder villager can properly be addressed. To use his name only, as to a contemporary, would be disrespectful. On the other hand, he said, it would be inconceivable to use such titles as *sayyid* (Mr.), *sitt* (Mrs.), *ustaz* or *hadratak* (sir) to a fellow villager of whatever age. These terms are used by the Arabs in cities and among strangers. They connote the formality of strangeness and distance equally as much as, if not more than, respect.

It is not uncommon in modern America to encounter "uncle," with the individual's first name, used by younger people for very close friends of the family, to whom the use of the first name alone would be unseemly because of great difference in age, but with whom "Mr." would be too formal. To a limited extent, the Arabic and American usages are analogous, but of course the extension of it in the former to include nearly every older person in the community is peculiarly Arabic. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this particular usage in itself indicates a general conception of the entire village as a sort of kinship unit, but nevertheless it is important to note the use of a kinship term in definite preference to a formal title among the villagers.

We may now consider three kinship terms whose functional significance is clear and, in one case, rather important. All three are affinal terms.

The first is *silfat*. This term is used by women only, and it is a reciprocal term. Two (or more) women are *silfat* to each other when they are married to brothers. In addition, each *silfat* refers to the other's husband as *silf* (the masculine form of the word). This term seems to serve the function of giving recogni-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

601 tion to the special connection which is created between two women when they marry into the same family.

601 593 Somewhat similar in function is the reciprocal term *'adīl* which is used only by men, two or more men who are married to sisters. There is, however, no term *'adīlat*, which might be applied to the wives of *'adīl*, as *silf* is applied to the husbands of *silfat*. This difference is a significant one. Whereas two *silfat* become members of the same family by their marriage to brothers, two *'adīl* do not become members of the same family by marriage to sisters. Rather, these sisters become members of their husbands' families, respectively. (Village phraseology aptly covers these conceptions: a man *takes* his wife *from* her family which *gives* her to him, and, up to a point, to his family.) Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the marriage of a woman does not entirely dissolve the bonds which have tied her to her parents, brothers and sisters. It seems to create for her an ambivalent, or double, set of bonds. And so, two men who marry sisters *do* establish between them a sort of vicarious bond, through the close connection between their wives. This bond is symbolized by the reciprocal term *'adīl*.

Concerning the uses of *silfat* and *'adīl* Davies writes, "Marriages such as these create bonds between otherwise unrelated persons and usage of these reciprocal terms usually implies intimacy and affection. Yet the Palestinian informant felt that these terms as often imply strife and tension between such individuals, since problems of distribution of property rights on the death of the spouses' father frequently arise" (1949, p. 251). The opinion of the Palestinian informant would, in the present writer's view, be especially applicable to *silfat* and their jealousies.

601 Of more significance than *silfat* and *'adīl* is the term *ṣihr*. When the writer first encountered this term, the informants said that it meant only ego's (male *or* female) sister's husband or daughter's husband. Further investigation revealed that it refers to many other statuses, though very likely it is *most often* employed in these two senses. Ego can use the term in the following ways:

ṣihri, "my *ṣihr*"	sister's husband daughter's husband granddaughter's husband
ṣihrna, our *ṣihr*"	husband of matrilateral and patrilateral first cousin
ṣihrna (vocatively) *ṣihr al-'ayli* ("family *ṣihr*," referentially)	husband of any member of lineage, provided he is ego's age or younger and not himself a member of the lineage
ṣihrna (vocatively) *ṣihr ad-ḍai'a* ("village *ṣihr*," referentially)	husband of any member of the village, provided he is ego's age or younger and assuming that he is an outsider

It is clear that the basic conception behind this term is the identification of any man who takes in marriage a member of ego's lineage, provided he is a con-

temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage 60]
mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Ṣihr* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues [593]
to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *ṣihr* whom her husband calls *ṣihr*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

Beyond this, we see that the use of the term is extended in two ways. First, it is extended to the male spouses of *all* first cousins. This is another indication of bilateral solidarity to the degree of first cousin but not beyond it, a striking phenomenon in a supposedly very strongly patrilineal system. Second, it is applied to [621
any outsider who takes a wife from among the villagers. This usage is, in the writer's opinion, of the utmost significance. It says, in effect, that an outsider who mar- 602]
ries a village girl is an in-law to everyone in the village, or, to the whole village as a collectivity of individuals. Either way it is phrased, it implies that the village as a unit is conceived of, or at least symbolized, as a single kin group. Of course, from the point of view of genealogy alone, this extended use of *ṣihr* is a perfectly logical projection from minimal lineage, through maximal lineage, to encompass the entire Core Group, which, by reason of universal descent from one man is, actually, a single superlineage. As a matter of fact, ego does not call *ṣihr* the husbands of his *maximal* lineage mates. This is another indication of the present-day conceptual weakness of the maximal lineages, a matter which can be readily accounted for (see Chap. 9).

One set of data on kinship terminology remains to be discussed. These are the reciprocal uses of *baba* (cf. "daddy") and *mama* (cf. "mummy"). Within the immediate family, grown sons and daughters address their parents by these terms as well as the more formal *bayyi* and *ʾimmi*. In their turn, the parents reciprocate these terms in addressing their children, so that before one becomes accustomed to the practice, one is regularly startled to hear a mother address her son as *mama*. Reciprocation of the formal parental terms is much less common. Parents also use, of course, the formal terms for son and daughter in addressing their children. Davies, in fact, says that actually fathers do not address their daughters as *baba* at all (1949, p. 251), but this usage was heard in Munsif. There is undoubtedly considerable individual variation in this practice. Davies says that there is a similar reciprocation of avuncular terms between aunts, uncles, and their nieces and nephews. The present writer has no evidence, one way or the other, of this usage in Munsif. Davies does not mention, however, a practice which does occur in Munsif, viz: the reciprocal use of *jiddi* and *sitti* (cf., in this context, "granddad" and "grandma") between grandparents and grandchildren. The terms *ḥafid* (grandson) and *ḥafidat* (granddaughter) are referential and are never used in direct address.

These familiar and familial usages are striking in that they seem to do violence to the facts of generation and sexual statuses. The phrase "seem to do violence" is

601 used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of avuncular, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence [602] of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view alone, "inconsistent," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

[576] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Munsif, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

582 The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Munsif this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Munsif, however, it is considered a better idea to [56] marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives; matrilateral kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

582 613 At the present time, one's particular minimal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's minimal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Munsif. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by asking the informant to state the number of faces between the husband-wife pairs on the census sheets. His immediate reaction was to count the faces patrilineally 582 613

TABLE 9. CLOSEST DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

Degree	Number	Family of Husband		Type of Marriage
First cousin	2	B.XII.	43	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.XI.	45	In Min. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	5	B.XII.	44	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.VIII.	20	In Min. Lin.
		C.XVI.	56	In Min. Lin
		C.XXII.	76	Out. Min. Lin.
		C.XX.	67	Out. Min. Lin.
Second cousin	5	A.I.	1	In Min. Lin.
		A.III.	4	In Min. Lin.
		B.XII.	46	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.VII.	19	In Min. Lin.
		C.XIV.	—	In Min. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	6	A.X.	38	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.VIII.	26	In Min. Lin.
		A.VI.	16	In Min. Lin.
		A.III.	5	In Min. Lin.
		A.X.	42	In Min. Lin.
		C.XVI.	59	Out. Min. Lin.
Third cousin	11	A.VIII.	21	In Min. Lin.
		A.VI.	13	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.VIII.	22	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII.	23	In Min. Lin.
		A.IX.	34	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII.	29	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII.	30	In Min. Lin.
		C.XXII.	77	Out. Min. Lin.
		C.XV.	55	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.V.	12	Out. Min. Lin.
		A.IV.	9	In Min. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.VIII.	27	In Min. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	14	—	—	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When it was explained to him that the [61] *direct* relationship patrilineally or matrilineally was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Between many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" faces. These

582 cases have arbitrarily been put into the "fourth cousin or more distant" category,
613 which may well be inaccurate. Table 9 indicates the fact that a sample of close biological relatives (i.e. third cousins and closer) includes pairs of people who are not only members of different minimal lineages, but of different maximal lineages as well; and this suggests sufficiently well the intricate web of kinship and marriage ties which connects different families and lineages.

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582 Marriage within the village, that is, local endogamy, is very definitely preferred. Although exogamous marriages are now fairly numerous, this is a recent development which will be discussed later. For the purposes of this study, marriage with members of other villages in the Qurni, which have always occurred but relatively infrequently, are considered locally endogamous. (Defense of this definition will be presented in Part Two.)

Now let us turn to Table 10, which gives statistics on the present marriage patterns of the villagers, and consider, first, the intra-village marriages. The table does not illustrate the marriage patterns between lineages at the minimal lineage level. This is because no such patterns could be discovered in analyzing the census data.

Considering the column which represents the types of intra-village marriage which have been contracted, from the primary reference of men, we observe that:

1. "A" men take "A" women 2 to 1 as against "B" and "C" women.
2. "B" men take "A" or "C" women 8 to 1, as against "B" women.
3. "C" men take "A" or "B" women 3 to 2, as against "C" women.

Looking at these same marriages from the point of view of the women concerned, it is seen that:

1. A large proportion (44 per cent) of "A" women have been taken by "B" and "C" men.
2. Of "B" women seventy-five per cent have been taken by "A" and "C" men.
3. Of "C" women forty-six per cent have been taken by "A" and "B" men.

To put the matter in another way:

1. There are 43 women who have been taken *from* their own maximal lineage.
2. There are 45 women who have been taken *by* their own maximal lineage.
3. There are 43 men who have taken wives from their own maximal lineage.
4. There are 40 men who have taken wives *from* other maximal lineages than their own.

(The discrepancy in the total number of men and women is due to the occurrence of second marriages. Extra-village marriages do not seriously affect the roughly 51–49 ratio of women to men in the total population because they involve an approximately equal number of men and women. In other words there is an approximately equal number of men and women available for intra-village marriage.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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TABLE 10. CORE GROUP: MARRIAGE PATTERNS BY LINEAGE

LINEAGE	MARRIED MALES			MARRIED FEMALES			To AF	To Others (Mostly Males)	To Outsiders (Mostly Females)	Total Min. Households	Total Population
	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.					
A.	8	19	14	8	20	22	2	13	19	44	272
I.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	18
II.	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
III.	—	4	1	—	3	2	—	—	1	4	31
IV.	—	1	3	—	2	1	—	—	3	3	30
V.	—	—	3	—	3	3	—	3	4	3	31
VI.	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	5	22
VII.	1	—	1	1	3	1	—	—	1	3	10
VIII.	5	7	1	5	5	9	—	4	3	14	81
IX.	1	2	1	1	2	2	—	2	1	3	12
X.	1	1	2	1	—	3	2	3	1	6	29
XI.	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	4
B.	0	1	8	0	3	9	0	2	3	6	43
XII.	—	1	6	—	2	7	—	1	3	4	30
XIII.	—	—	2	—	1	2	—	1	1	2	13
C.	2	10	18	2	12	12	0	2	8	31	184
XIV.	1	—	3	1	1	1	—	1	1	3	28
XV.	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	11
XVI.	1	—	3	1	4	2	—	1	2	3	27
XVII.	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	14
XVIII.	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	10
XIX.	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	5	13
XX.	—	3	3	—	2	3	—	—	2	8	50
XXI.	—	2	3	—	2	4	—	—	1	3	23
Deceased								—	1		
AF 5-7								—	3		
AF 1-4								—	1		
AF 1-2								1	—		

To put the matter in another way, for the village as a whole, marriages outside maximal lineages and inside them are almost exactly evenly divided. This is

582 what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following
613 facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty
621 choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village
marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in gross size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within [582] any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households could, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. In contradistinction to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they [554] are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

621 For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until re-
613 cently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were evidently
582 exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen in several factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zenner, 1950, p. 432). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.) 621 613 [illegible]

On this theory, the present patterns of intra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that *if* the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *as such* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, hence of society, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward entrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized entrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of *divisive society* endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social mavericks.

621 613 582 2. Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C"; and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, two from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is virtually the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence fitted together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of so radical a change as a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time on so large a scale—unless there had already been so large a number of exceptions to the rule that its reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is held, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation; that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of absolutely prohibited relatives, the marriage system in *Munsif* is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the maximal lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not social or cultural patterns at all.

582 In *Munsif*, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and *their* children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in *Munsif*), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his godparent's children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to before. Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the bilateral emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably, it is of as long standing among the Orthodox Arabs as their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Mohammed formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the perferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is necessarily lineage endogamy.

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

L 582 possible relatives, except siblings, who can ordinarily be expected to be of similar age (see Barth, 1954, p. 167). The prohibition on the marriage of siblings is one of the few unequivocally universal traits in the behavior of human beings which have so far been identified, and the Arabs are no exception.

L 582 ME 582 This marriage system is a reflection of one of the most fundamental concepts in Arab culture. If the Arab-in-the-street could fully verbalize this concept, he would say something like this: "The strongest tie which binds one person to another is the tie of blood, reckoned in the male line. The only people in this hard world in whom I can put my full trust are my relatives. Therefore, the best people in the world are my relatives—my brother, my father, my father's brothers and their sons, and beyond them, everyone in my father's lineage. When one marries, one chooses the best person one can find, and the best person is to be found among one's kinsmen—the closer the better."

A rigid functionalist might well reject this formulation, dismissing it as unverified sentimentality. He would say that lineage, and better still, extended family, endogamy exists because (a) it is a means of keeping property within the family (cf. Latron, 1936, p. 132), and (b) because it means that the bride price is materially reduced (cf. Daghestani, 1932, p. 22 and Barth, 1954, p. 168). These elements *are* associated with the system of marriage of close relatives, and they undoubtedly serve to reinforce the desirability of the system in the peoples' minds. But primary dependence upon hypothecated *causal* relationships of this sort can be a most misleading procedure. The fact is that the Arabs *are* sentimental, in both the literal and the common meanings of the word, about their kinsmen (cf. Tannous, 1942b, *in toto*). All the attitudes and emotions involved in this stem from the key conception of human relationships which has been noted above. This conception for the majority of Arabs probably exists largely at the implicit level, at least in its fully developed form.

Its power is no less among Christian Arabs than it is among Muslim Arabs. But the Christian Arabs have a special problem, a conflict between, on the one hand, their conception of the kinsman and his role in marriage and, on the other hand, the dictates of their religion. For strong sectarian sentiments, solidified here as everywhere else by meticulous adherence to clearly specified rules, are another behavioral cornerstone of Arab culture, equally important as kinship. In fact, so strong are both that one cannot be sacrificed for the other, even temporarily, without great discomfort, and certainly not in a continuous system like the marriage patterns of a community.

L 582 601 Obviously the conflict comes to a head in Munsif in the matter of the prohibition of marriage of all first cousins. The resolution of the conflict appears to be a sort of compromise which is revealed in the rather ambiguous general status of all first cousins as a group. In some respects they appear to be undifferentiated, which is a violation of strict patriliny. In other instances, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status.

582 588 The term "incest" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the denotation of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act excites horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disgraced, ostracised or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Munṣif is *not* incest. This is indicated by the status of the two pairs of first cousin spouses now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, not even from mild ridicule. The fact *was* singled out for remark as being unusual, against the formal rules, and therefore requiring an episcopal dispensation, but this was all.

582 605 Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the extension of the kinship term *ṣahr* to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral kin is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

428 The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Preferably, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Munṣif, however, daughters customarily do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zarour (1953, p. 437) reports exactly
[585] the same practice in contemporary Ramallah. Several informants of both sexes said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, in actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage to members of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersal of family property.

Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. 428 For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to men of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were *'adiil*, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual siblingship in 608 the second generation. Ordinarily the *sbbiin* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arraab*) of the children, while the *sbbiini* becomes their godmother (*'arraaba*). Between the godchildren (masc., *falyuun;* fem., *falyuuni*) and the children of their [582] godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohiibtion does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *sbbiin* and *sbbiini*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No 621 one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qumi (marriages 582 within the Qumi are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

621 after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period 582 that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of those now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munṣif (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munṣif. The marriage of women to outsiders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum [369] to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite clearly correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

	ENDOGAMOUS		EXOGAMOUS					
DATE	Village	Qurni	Greek Ortho.	Other Christian	Muslim	TOTAL ENDOG.	TOTAL EXOG.	% EXOG.
1860–1869 *	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	21	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	23	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	5	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	5	—	2	5	71.0
Total	124	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an 621
outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a titba' zawjha,* "The woman 582
follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, 183
the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munṣif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

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The existence of cliques in Munṣif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munṣif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular 565
family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munṣif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

565 tarian. Though *individuals* are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, [461] and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in menial tasks.

Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There *are* some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

621 A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, Munsif is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

8. This divergence from the otherwise strongly unilineal organization of the village is interpreted as a compromise between incompatible religious and structural principles, neither of which, owing to the nature of the culture, can be wholly sacrificed for the other.

9. As a unit of residence, at least, the conjugal family is far more important than the extended family.

A recent paper by Meyer Fortes (1953) provides some additional theoretical perspective to some of these points. Fortes' argument is based largely on his own and other British anthropologists' work in certain African cultures whose principle of genealogical segmentation of lineages in general appears very similar to that in Munsif.

The following quotation throws some light on the situation in Munsif:

> A Society made up of corporate lineages is in danger of splitting into rival lineage factions. How is this counteracted in the interests of wider political unity? One way is to extend the lineage framework to the widest range within which sanctions exist for preventing conflicts and disputes from ending in feud or warfare.
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> Another way . . . is for the common interest of the political community to be asserted periodically, as against the private interests of the component lineages, through religious institutions and sanctions. (Fortes, 1953, p. 28.)

The genealogical structure of Munsif as a whole would appear to be just such an extension of the lineage framework. We do not know for sure whether universal descent from the founder is a historical fact or a fiction. It is, in either case, taken seriously by the villagers, and the emphasis on village endogamy, the de-emphasis on lineages as units of marriage regulation, and certain usages of kinship terminology lend support to Fortes' generalization as applied to Munsif. Furthermore, we have seen in the chapter "Socio-Religious Behavior" that periodic rituals clearly serve the function of uniting the village as a whole.

Again, Fortes generalizes from his African material to say that the bilateral family is a focal element even in unilineal systems, being a tie through sibling filiation between ego and his closest relatives who are not members of his descent group (Fortes, 1953, p. 33). This generalization appears to be clearly supported in Munsif.

Lastly, Fortes states (*ibid.*, p. 31) that the maximum depth of lineages seems to be about fourteen generations, which is very close to the depth of Munsif's Core Group as a whole, but that five or six generations is more common, and these figures are not far from those for the average minimal lineage in Munsif.

VALUES. A CONCLUSION OF PART ONE

600 THE purpose of this chapter is to rephrase and reemphasize a number of phenomena which have been dealt with in one way or another in Part One, so that these matters will be in the forefront of our minds as we proceed into Part Two and approach the conclusion of this work. This chapter is, then, a reclassification under a new heading of data which have already appeared under a number of different headings.

The principle on which these data are reordered is the concept of value which has only recently been closely defined for anthropological purposes by Kluckhohn. His definition is as follows: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." (Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 395.) To put the matter another way, a value is a code or standard which organizes a system of action, and places everything concerned on an approval-disapproval continuum (*ibid.*, p. 395).

An extension of the concept of value is that of value-orientation. "A value-orientation is a generalized conception, influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and nondesirable as they may relate to man-environment and interhuman relations." (Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 411.)

This chapter is not, however, a values analysis as such; rather, it is an ordering of certain types of behavior in *Munsif* under the heading of "values." Therefore, while values and value-orientations obviously play an essential role in these behavior patterns, no claim is made that any one of the latter necessarily *is* in itself *a* value or *a* value-orientation. Such an analysis undoubtedly could be made, but it is not necessary for the purposes at hand. When we say that values obviously play an essential role in these behavior patterns, we mean that the descriptions of them have included three, in particular, of Kluckhohn's "operational indices" of values: (1) Approval or disapproval being made explicit by word and deed; (2) acts which elicit strong emotional responses; (3) consistent directionality in certain ways (*ibid.*, p. 404).

This writer undertook no systematic research in *Munsif* upon the intricate and important topic of culture and personality, and he would not attempt to make any generalizations of his own in regard to *Munsif*. He has, however, encountered a number of statements by various authors on what appear to them to be charac-

teristic personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements 000
seem to be pertinent to this discussion.

Tannous (1944, p. 326) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 255), quoting from Huvelin, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kohn (1936, p. 75) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of likes and dislikes to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 83). He also notes quickness in comprehension, the gift of oratory, and deftness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

Thoumin (1936, p. 29) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian mentality, its mysticism (ascetic and voluptuous by turns), its passion for talk, and the pride of the individual in possessing a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

IN-GROUPS

The matter of in-groups in the culture of Munsif is one of central importance. 571
A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in 621
Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.
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There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as
it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are 771
kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage; locality is the primary basis of the village; religion is the primary basis of al-Qumi. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qumi is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qumi—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outwards. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at 621
least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for Munsif, for there are 571
strong suggestions that to the average Munsifi, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true as far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

621 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munsif
571 is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained
its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

436 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munsif from emi-
grants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic
[435] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that
[455] the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in
part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is
[186] often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friend-
ship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 "In Munsif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much
871 education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for
555 a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that
was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

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[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1953, pp. 370-71).

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its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Munsifin in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

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The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

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One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1936, p. 84), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Munsifin are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
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> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yaziji and Butrus Bustani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1950, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1936, p. 89).

Middle East M1

L 177 ME 177

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *accepted*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

L 871

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Munsif, is summarized by Kurani, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

ME 186 191 L 186 191

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

ME 196 576 L 196 576

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of stinginess." (Rihbany, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

L 191

In Munsif, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defences, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Munsifi necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both. 621 369

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well. [464]

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a *few easy* piasters. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. Not many can live on the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water. [591]

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who *live* in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concern of many young fathers

621 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back
369 in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available
461 in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs
556 has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example,
302 Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munsif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its political-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munsif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication,
[774] particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Khadduri, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munsif and elsewhere, stenciled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

Middle East nationalism is, among other things, very definitely an in-group sentiment, and it is most frequently expressed in terms of opposition to foreign powers. This opposition is not entirely unjustified, but it very often exceeds reason and becomes purely emotional hatred. There is much truth in [illegible]'s contention that this xenophobia is a general reaction to the many frustrations inherent in the acculturative situation, that it is, in many cases, a scapegoat mechanism (ibid., pp. 33-36).

Lebanese Christians, such as the Maronites, appear to have especially painful ambivalent feelings in this matter. Much of the xenophobia at present has particular reference to the United States because of its role in the establishment of Israel. But before World War II, the United States and its citizens enjoyed a remarkably fine reputation among the Lebanese, which could not be completely erased by subsequent events. Many villagers attempt to resolve the conflict by trying to persuade themselves and each other that all the doings of the Americans are, in some way or other, motivated by hostility towards them. This attempted persuasion does not appear to have been entirely successful, and the process continues.

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese philosopher and statesman, has recently written that the trouble with Northrop's book, *The Meeting of East and West*, is that it does not take into consideration the meeting of the two, namely the Middle East (Malik, [illegible], p. 4). Malik, whose own career is an outstanding example of the acculturative process, is deeply troubled, as everyone concerned is, by the disruption which acculturation has caused in the Middle East, and he seems to feel, to put his words into anthropological terms, that mutual understanding and the reduction of tensions will only be achieved when and *if* the cultural premises of the West are perceived and appreciated by the East. We hope that he is not implying that these cultural premises should be imposed on the East, but in any case, he is correct in pointing out that Western influence has so far been disproportionately on the material side. The Arabs appreciate the practical advantages of the products of Western inventiveness, but in general they have been given little opportunity to learn that the West has anything more to offer than tools, techniques and money. Consequently, one hears frequently the bitter remark that while they, the Arabs, are a spiritual people, the Westerners are crass materialists. Though many have been exposed to segments of Western thought in school and college, few have been able to achieve a genuine rapport with this necessarily disembodied material.

And so, the meeting of East and West in the Middle East at the present time can be viewed as a conflict of values. According to [illegible] ([illegible], p. [illegible]), there are a few who would resolve the conflict by having the Middle East break away completely from its own culture (which they themselves have done). This view [illegible] is so naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate prevention of all further acculturation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Munsifis appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described as follows:

> They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and tends to be affected by them sooner and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in externals, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathies and feelings. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own minds; as such it raises problems which pose themselves with peculiar urgency. (Hourani, 1946, p. 73.)

[illegible]

PART TWO

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STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE CULTURE OF AL-MUNṢIF

page 143
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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

ME 181 L 181 621 TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each — which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 330 ff.), kinship (ibid., p. 337 ff.), and religion (ibid., p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion L [92] and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

L 613 621 In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. L [60] Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or L [582] "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on all Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Munsif, are Moslem.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 339.)

L 771 621 Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

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* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

[illegible] latter, but he continues loyally in the community fellowships and modes which have been inspired mainly by the rules of the church." (Touma, 1944, p. 348.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago at most, Munsif and the Munsifis conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of them still continue in force.

[illegible] Our purpose now is to trace out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Touma, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we enter upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-MUNSIF

173 Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village-to-be when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations have, according to the genealogy, descended from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1590, and deduce that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on some arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction as far as dates are concerned.
621

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. [illegible] (1950, p. 274), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and inland from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1590 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr ad-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Hitti (1951, p. 621) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansur Jurjis al-Khuri and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qarra? This no one knows. It may be that they had been persuaded there by relatives. At the present time there are four large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sabkis who supposedly came from Munsif or its site. It is thought that Sabkis must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansur Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of a particularly undesirable district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others. 173 6-2

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, on a terrace. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Jibeil to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at 'Arqa, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhail, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster. 175 6-6 6-8

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by unilineal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshit. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72-73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Tobia, a Maronite from 'Amshit, "Making his native village of Amsheet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tobia has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munsif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Jibeil used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving. 433 435 464

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en- 434

[Munsif]

674 country adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fallah*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at [242] any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

615 621 As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munsifis in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayl*.

177 At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought some education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a [167] long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

175 621 By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become 778 a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently 621 observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 234). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to 722 this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was 621 blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munṣif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munṣifīn could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 [167] emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of 621 the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over 648 Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the 621 country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 431). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of 778 rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the 621 entire country. In Munṣif, as in many other villages where economic problems had [166] become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the [369] villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

THE PRESENT

178 George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution
[494] in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in
[181] equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*,
[182] pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munsif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

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177 As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munsif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munsifin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at
[554] all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken
177 as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

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177 These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms. 178

177 The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

262 177 Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

241 177 The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Munsif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

433 438 178 In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

433 438 178 The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

[166 369] 3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

871 433 [212] The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munsif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

177 178 621 181 We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munsifin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munsifin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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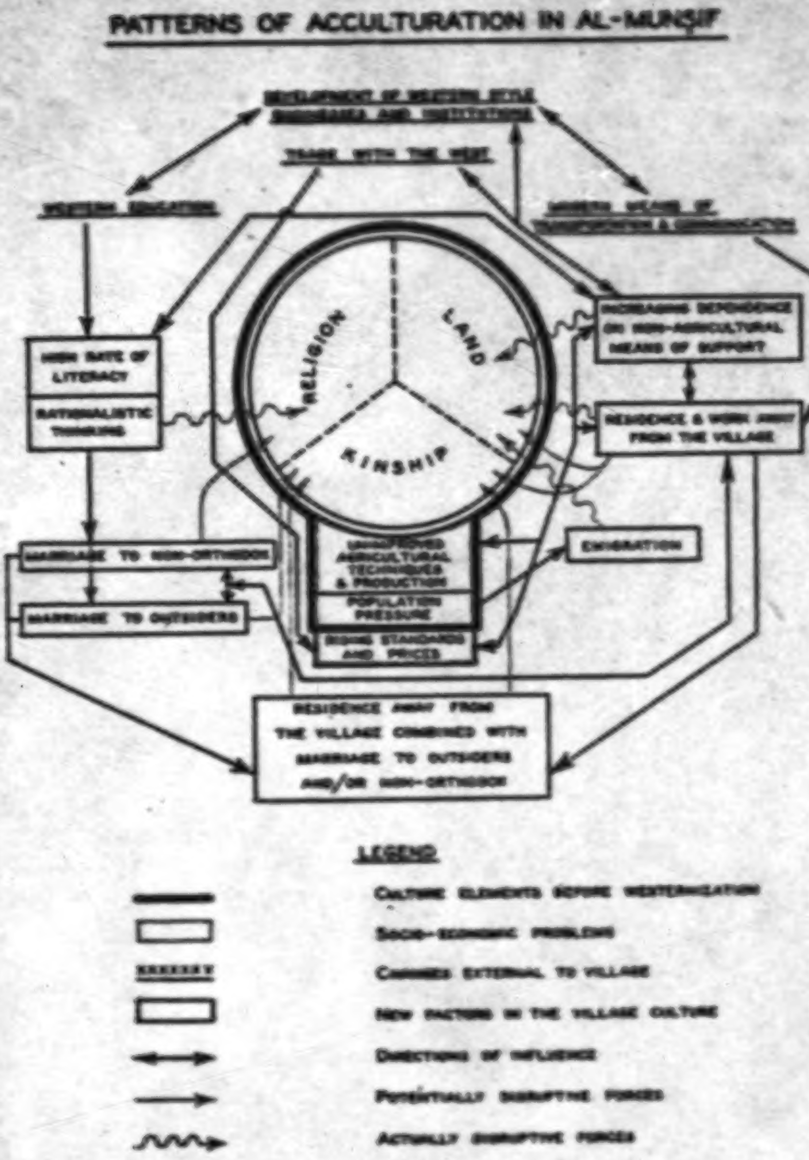
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF
DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN STYLE BUSINESSES AND INSTITUTIONS
TRADE WITH THE WEST
WESTERN EDUCATION
MODERN MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION & COMMUNICATION
HIGH RATE OF LITERACY
RATIONALISTIC THINKING
RELIGION
LAND
KINSHIP
INCREASING DEPENDENCE ON NON-AGRICULTURAL MEANS OF SUPPORT
RESIDENCE & WORK AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE
EMIGRATION
UNIMPROVED AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES & PRODUCTION
POPULATION PRESSURE
RISING STANDARDS AND PRICES
MARRIAGE TO NON-ORTHODOX
MARRIAGE TO OUTSIDERS
RESIDENCE AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE COMBINED WITH MARRIAGE TO OUTSIDERS AND/OR NON-ORTHODOX
LEGEND
CULTURE ELEMENTS BEFORE WESTERNIZATION
SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
CHANGES EXTERNAL TO VILLAGE
NEW FACTORS IN THE VILLAGE CULTURE
DIRECTIONS OF INFLUENCE
POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE FORCES
ACTUALLY DISRUPTIVE FORCES

FIG. 7

177 sistence. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the
178 question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around
621 agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older
181 people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is *not* the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munsif the principle of
177 devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

178 *Religion.* It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the
Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives
181 rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group
771 loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in *Munsif* is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion *retains* its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munsif. We have seen that the Munsifiin clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

[778] The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns.
The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one 181
aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its 771
traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the 181
entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, 602
we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain 177
their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a
whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and
unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent 181
and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This 621
seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty 177
on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the
strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more
than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will
have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in
the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is pre- 621
cisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty 771
groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question 602
of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Munsif, 177
have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ME 178 621 L 178 621 WE have seen that Munsif has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation within the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions outward, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

ME 571 L 571 One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only* if it is small, and if it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is most effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the charmed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-anthropo-

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[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Ammar (1954; especially chap. 4).

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morphic monotheism among the Jews was in part due to their solidification as an ME
ethnic in-group after the Babylonian exile. (Witness, for example, the statement: 671
"Thus I cleansed them from everything foreign. . ." Nehemiah 13:30). Moving L
forward in date, we are told that in the Arabian custom at the time of Muhammad, 671

> The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself (Robertson Smith, 1885, p. 2).

And at a later period, we find that the Ottoman Empire

> was composed of a large number of groups, local, tribal, linguistic and religious. On the whole, these groups formed closed communities. Each was a "world," sufficient to its members and exacting their ultimate loyalty. The worlds touched but did not mingle with each other; each looked at the rest with suspicion and even hatred. Almost all were stagnant, unchanging and limited. (Hourani, 1947, p. 22.)

And the following brings us to the present situation, of which it emphasizes the regional aspect: ME 671 621 L 671 621

> And so there grew up in the Arab world as we know it: an association of peoples, who are vividly conscious of a network of traditions, interests, feelings and sympathies that unite them, but who live in communities each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests.
>
> But we must not think of these communities as being Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and so on, to begin with. They were primarily much smaller and more local, for example, Baghdadi and Mosuli, Damascene and Aleppin, Upper Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Cairene, Deltain—with a host of other regional communities and often deeply marked subdivisions as well. (Gibb, 1942b, p. 73.)

The political aspect of the situation is stressed in the following: ME

> The population of almost all 26 political units (in the Middle East) is splintered into a number of minority and tribal groups many with an intense internal loyalty. It is a region of nation against nation, and within one nation, group against group, and cross-cutting nations cooperating groups with stronger loyalties to themselves than to their nation. The national rivalries are similar to those in the Balkans and Ireland. The group conflicts are similar but usually more intense than those in the United States between old Americans and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews, labor and management, Negroes and whites. And the groups with loyalty cross-cutting national ties are similar though less effective than world Communism. (Richardson and Reid, 1949, p. 483.) 571 578

Fisher views the situation from an ecological point of view. He points out ME
(1947, p. 419) that there are three basic ecological groups in the Middle East— 621
nomads, villagers, and city dwellers. The nomads detest the settled people but de- 578
pend upon them for some of their food. The villagers hate the town and city L
dwellers because they look upon them as extortioners; yet the city is necessary to 621
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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies th city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, ha arises the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on th basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color masses, so th Middle East can be conceived as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet relat ways of life. (Ibid., p. 420.)

A recent paper by Patai (1952) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a *functional* approach to bear on the situation, to which he give a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is base on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country a a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possib contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need t identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their histor they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts an the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctiv fashion. Walking through the bazaar you have no trouble identifying everyone yo meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to dea with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades requir a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 133.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group enmities *can* be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

Middle East M1

Protestants, and Jews in the United States, and says that toleration depends in part on the special practices of each sect being actual abominations in the eyes of the others (*ibid.*, p. 497). In other words, disparate values cannot be *too* disparate, if the groups are to interact at all. The individual's religious role, per se, must not exclude him from full participation in other nonreligious role systems (*ibid.*, p. 498). Applied to the Middle East, we may paraphrase Aberle in terms of Coon's analysis, by saying that the diverse sect affiliations of Middle Easterners do not prevent them from interacting successfully with each other in the nonreligious role system of the marketplace.

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However, the phenomenon of intense in-group cohesion and out-group hostilities remains as one of paramount importance. We must still deal with a system in which a large number of individuals apparently approach their social relationships with an attitude which can be summed up by the following Lebanese village axiom: "*I am against my brother; my brother and I are against my cousin; my* cousin, my brother, and I are against the stranger" (Tannous, 1942b, p. 232).

Prothro and Melikian, psychologists on the faculty of the American University of Beirut, have recently reported on a social distance test which they administered to one hundred and thirty students in the University. In the test, social distance was put in terms of attitudes toward sect and national groups, primarily. Their general conclusion is that social distances between groups are greater than in the United States, "*but* they reflect, a general reserve toward out-groups rather than an elaborate classificatory system" (Prothro and Melikian, 1952, pp. 10–11).

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But *if* we are to analyze the in-group system of the Middle East, a classificatory device is precisely what we must *have*. For, with a multiplicity of loyalties and suspicions impinging upon the emotions of every average individual, there is excellent reason to inquire why (1) anarchy does not prevail in the Middle East, and (2) why the average individual is not torn by irreconcilable conflicts. The answer to the first question is that anarchy very *frequently has* prevailed in the Middle East or large sections of it. To answer the second question and to explain why anarchy does not *always* prevail in every part of the Middle East, we must put the mosaic, or in-group, system into a more theoretical frame of reference than we have done so far.

THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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The *following* theoretical analysis of the complex social structure of the Middle East is based, in part, on the theory of "balanced antagonisms," and the associated theory of "group segmentation," which Evans-Pritchard developed in his study of the Nuer (1940).

Evans-Pritchard describes the overall social structure of the Sudanese *Nuer* society (a distinct cultural entity whose relations with *its* immediate neighbors are typically hostile) as an "acephalous kinship state" (1940, p. 181). The society is [illegible] unit 191

[64 57] [-2] divided into clans which are large kin groups and territorial groups (in wh aspect Evans-Pritchard calls them tribes). Each clan is "segmented" into maxim lineages, each maximal lineage is segmented into major lineages, each major lin age is segmented into minor lineages, and each minor lineage is segmented in minimal lineages. The average Nuer clan has approximately the same generation depth as the Munsif core group, while the average Nuer minimal lineage is a proximately the size of an extended family. Each Nuer lineage is theoretically territorial unit as well as a kin group, and the minimal lineage characteristical constitutes a hamlet cluster or village.

The process of segmentation is basically a matter of genealogical proliferatio as described for the lineages in Munsif. The structure of the Nuer is, therefore, hierarchical one. The status of being a Nuer is universally inclusive. But the se tions, subsections, and sub-subsections into which this totality is segmented a progressively less inclusive, smaller, and more cohesive.

All the sections and all the units of sections are in-groups, *but all do n function as such simultaneously*. Upon occasion, the entire society is a single in group when, for example, there is a war with a neighboring society, such as that w the Dinka, a traditional enemy (*ibid.*, p. 125). More often, however, in-grou mechanisms are displayed by the active opposition of adjacent tribes, during whic of course, the total society of Nuer ceases to be a single in-group. Within a give tribe two maximal lineages may, for a specific period, be in active opposition t each other, and while the lineages function as in-groups in opposition, the trib to which they belong obviously does not. And so on.

If we approach the phenomenon now from the perspective of the smalles rather than the largest, unit, its essential nature becomes clearer. Let us suppos that villages A and B each consist of a family unit, and that these two famil units constitute, genealogically, minor lineage Y. The villages are adjacent to eac other. A bitter quarrel breaks out between two members of each of the village Each village then unites as an in-group in support of its embattled member an in opposition to the other village. When this quarrel is resolved, the villages re sume more or less friendly or at least neutral relations. But then let us suppos that village B becomes involved in a dispute with village C. Village C consists o a family group which does not belong to minor lineage Y, but rather, in conjun with the family unit of village D, it constitutes minor lineage Z. What happen now is that village A rallies to the support of village B, thus solidifying mino lineage Y as an in-group in opposition to minor lineage Z in which a similar solidi fication has taken place. When this quarrel is resolved, the largest units achieved i response to the crisis fall apart again into their component elements. What we hav described is, really, a process whereby in-group loyalties and out-group opposition can be raised, as it were, from one power to the next higher one, and then reduce again when the need for more inclusive unity is removed. In theory, the proces can be carried all the way up to a situation where the entire cultural group is united.

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V: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon [redacted]

At any one time, it is unlikely that a given individual will have more than one active antagonism (and one type of intense group loyalty) to occupy his attention; hence he is ordinarily not torn by conflicting loyalties. This fluctuating, situational process is the mechanism of balanced antagonisms.[*]

Now let us see how the principles of balanced antagonisms and segmentation can be applied to the Middle East. On the basis of the ethnographic evidence at hand, we postulate five principles of group cohesion, each of which is a focus of many of the strongest values and most intense emotions in Middle East culture. The principles are:

1. Kinship
2. Common residence
3. Nationality
4. Religion
5. Language

Upon these principles are based at least six orders of actual (not abstract) social units. Each unit of every order is potentially, and normally actually, an in-group. The six orders are:

1. Family
2. Lineage
3. Village (or nomadic band)
4. Nation
5. Sect
6. Linguistic group

For a large number of people in the Middle East, there is, in addition to these six orders, a seventh one—that of being an *Arab*. This inclusive concept of unity, though based on the speaking of *Arabic* as the native tongue, transcends the sixth order divisions (Arabic vernacular dialects), and many nonlinguistic values are attached to it as well.

Hereafter, we shall refer to each order of units as a *sphere* and to each unit of a sphere as a *segment*. (There is nothing sacred or final about the term "sphere." It is derived from the concept which is illustrated by the diagrams in this chapter, and it is used simply to avoid ambiguity and circumlocution. A better term is needed, but it is not necessary for this study.) Thus, the segments of Sphere 4 (nation) are Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and so on. Sphere is the more abstract of the two concepts. The sphere criteria are the means by which specific segments are identified as such, and "segment" refers to concrete, specific units of people. For example, the Jewish community in Beirut is a segment because it is a unit which has a religion which sets it apart. It is a segment defined by Sphere 5. When we speak of a particular segment we imply that it has a definite sphere status. It also

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[*] The foregoing has been abstracted from Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 114-[illegible].

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon [redacted]
Arabic East N1

[13] [14] [57] frequently happens that individual segments are defined by more than one sphere criterion at the same time. This will be discussed again later on.

In order to make clear their nature in action, each of the spheres (or component segments thereof) must be described in more detail.

SPHERES 1 AND 2: FAMILY AND LINEAGE

Enough has been said previously about these structures as in-groups to obviate any prolonged discussion here.

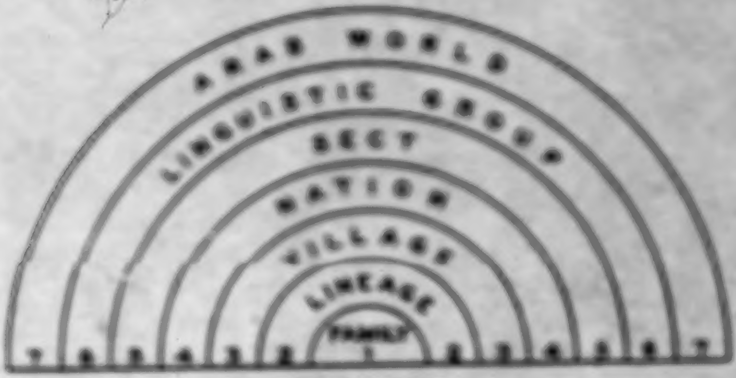

Fig. 8. Spheres

[51] It is worth noting that on the same page in which he discusses the fundamental unity of the Egyptian village, Ayrout (see below) remarks that the village is often torn by family feuds. Viewed in terms of the theory of balanced antagonisms, this is not an incompatible juxtaposition. Given a certain set of cues, the village operates as a unit. Remove these cues and supply another set, and the village is divided by quarrels along kinship lines. [illegible] ([illegible], p. [illegible]) makes the same point in regard to Ramallah, and, by way of cross-cultural comparison which is theoretically pertinent to this discussion, Evans-Pritchard (1940, pp. [illegible]) says that among the Nuer although the strongest ties are in the village, nevertheless there are divisions within the village.

SPHERE 3: LOCAL GROUP

[62] We will discuss only villages in considering local groups, although the individual nomadic band also belongs in this category.

There can be no question but that the Middle East village is a classic example of the in-group. It is small, physically very tightly clustered, and it tends to be physically isolated from its neighbors. The following quotations from Ayrout

7: Gulick E-1 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon [redacted]

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(1945) are generalizations upon Egyptian villages which, physically, are often less isolated than many Lebanese villages:

> [The village] with its surrounding land forms a closed system outside which everyone and everything is foreign and unknown. It leads a secluded and individual life, which is organized from within by habits, customs, and taboos handed down from the past, immemorial laws which rule absolutely the acts and the pleasures of every inhabitant. . . . [The fellah's] village is all in all, for it is here and now. It is his country, and the limit of his patriotism . . . [p. 100]. If the vital interests of a village are in immediate danger, each villager feels a strong sense of unity with the group; men, women, and children unite in a single front [p. 105].

Other writers, generalizing upon the Middle East as a whole, have put the matter in somewhat different terms but equally strongly. For example, Gibb and Bowen write, "Next to the family the most important social unit in all Moslem countries outside Arabia is the village or agricultural community" (1950, p. 7). Tannous says that in addition to land, religion, and kinship, there is one more all-important focus of values. "This is community life as a whole, which is dependent upon the other elements, yet goes beyond them. Short of the constellational experience afforded by the totality of the community, the fellah's life is incomplete" (1944, p. 542). Gibb remarks that the dominant Arab sentiment is "often to despair at the rivalries which hold villages, districts, regions and even states apart" (1945b, p. 87).

In the light of the typical isolated settlement pattern and the prevailingly poor communications, "It is little wonder that each isolated settlement has developed its own group loyalty, and its own customs and leaders, with varying degrees of sectional loyalty . . ." (Richardson and Reid, 1948, p. 400). Such evidence as we have indicates that villages are characteristically endogamous (cf. Tannous, 1944, p. 542; and Ewing, 1950, p. 7).

SPHERE 4: NATION

The present nations of the Middle East are mostly new, and the in-group attitude, nationalism, which is associated with each is also new. As we have said before, the nationalistic spirit depends considerably upon modern techniques of communication and transportation for maintenance of intense feelings. This is particularly true among the Middle East nations in each of which there are many smaller in-groups whose barriers must be removed or bypassed if national unity is to be achieved. At the present time, the process of creating national in-groups is by no means complete.

Active animosities are, perhaps, not quite so obvious in Sphere 4 as they are in others, although the mutual dislike of some national groups in the area is well known. It should be noted, however, that present-day nationalism in the Middle East is frequently not so much an expression of rivalries among nations within the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon

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186 ence as it is an expression of the hostility of a particular national group to the influence of non-Middle Eastern nations.

SPHERE 5: SECT

776 Islam is unquestionably the predominant religion of the Middle East, by and large transcending linguistic and national divisions. There are non-Moslem enclaves in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, but their status is definitely that of minorities, although, owing to the in-group significance of religion, their presence is more keenly felt than their actual numbers would suggest it should be. It is only in Lebanon that non-Moslem sects are so large and numerous in proportion to the total population that we have no choice but to consider it a nation which is segmented into sect-groups rather than as a nation which is one of several which share the same religious affiliation.

By and large, it is naive to treat religion as a more inclusive sphere than nation. However, it is very important to point out that although Islam appears in theory to be a unity, it actually is no more a unity than Christianity is. Islam is divided into a large number of sub-groups, and although the relationships among them have rarely approached the hatred and venom which have been all too characteristic of Christian sectarian relationships, nevertheless they are clearly distinct as in-groups. Islam is divided, first, into the Shi'a and Sunni, a division which goes back to the first century of Islam and is of at least the same magnitude as the division between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Shi'a are subdivided into a large number of sects. The Sunni are subdivided, first into four schools of Koranic interpretation. It is a moot question to what degree these involve the active interests and emotions of the average layman, but they do have a significant areal distribution. In addition, there are also a large number of religious brotherhoods which are active and cohesive pressure groups. Furthermore, there is in Sa'udi Arabia the Wahhabi sect which sets itself apart from both Shi'ism and Sunnism. If we add these divisions within Islam to the various non-Moslem sects, we get a picture of a great multiplicity of religious in-groups. It is entirely possible that for many individuals in the Middle East, nation is a more inclusive in-group than is any particular sect. The animosities which tend to pervade intersect relations are well known to those familiar with the area, and the matter need not be pursued further here.

SPHERE 6: LINGUISTIC GROUPS

197 Middle Easterners in general, and Arabs in particular, are language-conscious.
186 Arabic itself is divided into a large number of regional dialects whose speakers tend to regard each other with contempt and derision, although they all share Classical, literary Arabic. Other language groups in the area have tenaciously held to their own languages in spite of centuries of Arab pressure. Berbers, Turks, Armenians, Kurds, Iranians, Afghans, and Pakistanis are notable among them. Even otherwise Arab

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Christian sects like the Maronites and the Copts retain their pre-Arabic tongues as a 197
ritual language, in the same way that the Jews have retained Hebrew. These last 186
are examples of the coincidence of spheres (3 and 6), of which more will be said
later, which results in especially strong in-groups.

Although other factors have also been at work in them, open language-group hostilities have been conspicuous in the area. For example:

1. Turks versus Arabs
2. Kurds versus Turks, Arabs, and Iranians
3. Armenians versus Turks and Arabs
4. Berbers versus Moroccan Arabs

It is true that political, economic, and/or religious differences have often been the initial cause of specific quarrels, but in every case, whatever the cause, the groups have been defined by language.

SPHERE 7: THE ARAB WORLD

(This sphere is widely, but not universally, applicable in the Middle East.) 197
The conception of the Arab World as an in-group (sphere 7) is based partly upon 186
the cultural unity imparted by Islam, over and above its own sectarian divisions,
but most especially upon the Arabic language, over and above its many dialects. 648
Most Muslims in the Arab World are Arabic speakers, and many Muslims in the Middle East are not Arabs, but not all Arabic speakers are Muslims, as witness the Christian Arabs. It is essential to realize that the Arabic language, including its oral and written classics, has a cultural significance which goes far beyond its function as a means of communication. In particular, the highly emotional esthetic appeal which it has for its speakers must be noted, in addition to its reminders of a glorious past and its implications of cultural unity. Anyone who has been present at gatherings of Arabs is familiar with the rapt attention which is given to the recitation of famous old stories. And surely, few students of the Arab World have never been told by an enthusiastic Arabic speaker, with a glint of pride in his eye, that Arabic is *lughat-ad-dad*, by which he really means to say that it is something unique in the world, something indescribably beautiful and precious, something which is undoubtedly his own. Their language is one of the Arabs' proudest cultural possessions, and its value for them as such has probably been intensified in the past few decades when much of the rest of their culture has been seriously upset by Western technology and ideas. Emotional factors of this sort are among the strongest foundations of in-groups. A recent and authoritative work by Faris and Husayn is explicit in stating the importance of the unifying power of Arabic (Bedawi, 1954, p. 344).

The various pan-Arab movements are also evidence in support of the conception of the Arab World as an in-group, and the Arab League represents an attempt to make it an active reality.

INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR SPHERE AFFILIATIONS

154 571 The full significance, in terms of function, of the concept of spheres will become clear if we think of an individual Arab, for example, as being at the center of a half-circle (point x in Fig. 8). Surrounding him are seven increasingly large concentric arcs which represent the seven spheres, in order one to seven, in each of which his interests are involved. (See Fig. 7.) Actually, of course, he is not a member of each sphere in its entirety but of a certain segment in each sphere. The only exception to this is Sphere 7, the *Arab World*, which all Arabs share in common. By drawing a sector of the half-circle (see sector xyz in Fig. 8), the membership of the individual in a series of segments will be indicated. The individual's Sphere 1 segment is the nearest, smallest, and ordinarily the most important to him. As the segments increase in "distance" from the individual, their size also tends to increase; they become, in other words, more and more inclusive in regard to the number of people who belong to them and to the geographical area which they cover. The more inclusive a segment is, the greater is the chance that the member's interest in it will be counteracted by his interest in some smaller segment. The fact remains, however, that he is a member of not one, but seven segments, one in each sphere, although his conscious interests are likely to be concerned with only one at a time.

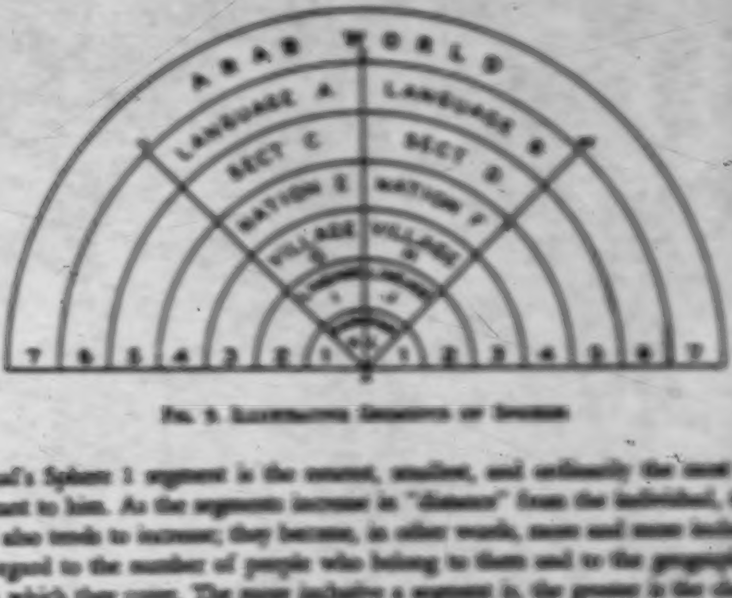

FIG. 8. ILLUSTRATIVE SEGMENTS OF SPHERES

Figures 9-13 illustrate five cases of the operation of the principle of segmentalization. The number of such diagrams which could be drawn, each slightly different from any other, is large. Each figure repeats the half-circle and arcs of Figure 7. In addition, on each one are superimposed two sectors, xyz and xwv. Each sector represents the multiple segment affiliations of an individual.

In Figure 9, the two individuals have only one sphere status, or segment

7: Gulick E-3 (1954) 1955 ME: Lebanon [redacted]

Middle East M1

membership, in common, that of being Arabs. The only type of issue on which these two might be expected to unite, therefore, is an issue which they believe applies to all Arabs. And the likelihood of such a unified attitude's becoming an active reality is diminished by the likelihood that it would be neutralized by divergent attitudes related to each individual's other segment affiliations. As far as segments of Spheres 1 through 6 are concerned, they have nothing in common and may even be in conflict. The individuals might be, for example, a Greek Orthodox Syrian and a Muslim Moroccan. They are differentiated in Sphere 6 (language) by reason of the fact that the Syrian and Moroccan spoken dialects of Arabic approach mutual unintelligibility. [134 67]

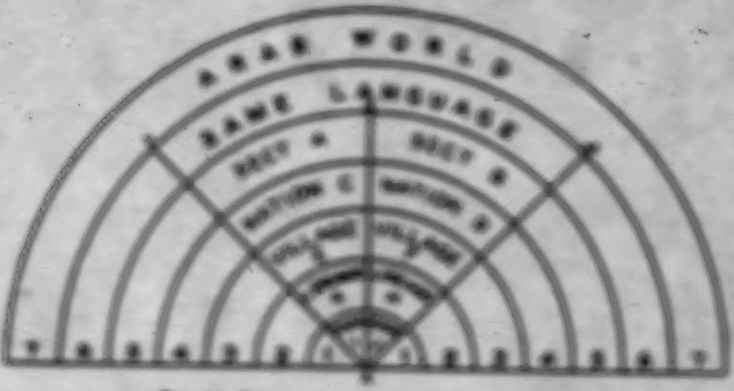

FIG. 10. ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAM OF SPHERES

Figure 10 may be taken to represent a Syrian Sunni and a Lebanese Shi'i. Both are Arabs and both speak very much the same dialect, but they diverge in sect affiliation, nationality, and the smaller segments.

Figure 11 illustrates the comparative segment membership of, for example, two second cousins. They belong to different segments in the family sphere, but in all other spheres they belong to identically the same segments—same lineage, same village, same nation, same sect; they speak the same dialect, and both are Arabs. Figure 11 approaches a situation of maximum convergence in segment membership. The ultimate in such convergence—for example, a case of two brothers—would be represented by a diagram in which line ax would be omitted entirely.

Figures 12 and 13 illustrate two somewhat more complex situations. Figure 12 might illustrate a Moroccan Berber and a Moroccan Arab. They diverge in the three smallest spheres and in language, but they have the same religion and, naturally, nationality. Figure 13 might represent an Egyptian Copt and an Egyptian Sunni. They diverge in the three smallest spheres and in religion, but they are members of the same national and linguistic segments.

57 The segmentalized nature of the spheres is clear in the case of Spheres 1 through 4: several families constitute a lineage, several lineages constitute a village,

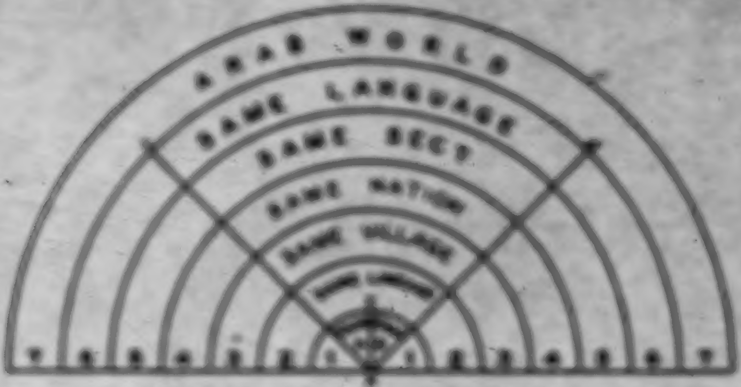
ARAB WORLD
SAME LANGUAGE
SAME SECT
SAME NATION
SAME VILLAGE
SAME LINEAGE
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

FIG. 11. ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAM OF SPHERES

and a large number of villages constitute a nation. However, it is readily admitted that the social value of Spheres 4, 5, and 6, as given here, is open to argument. The scheme is designed, nevertheless, to be applicable to specific cases, and it is

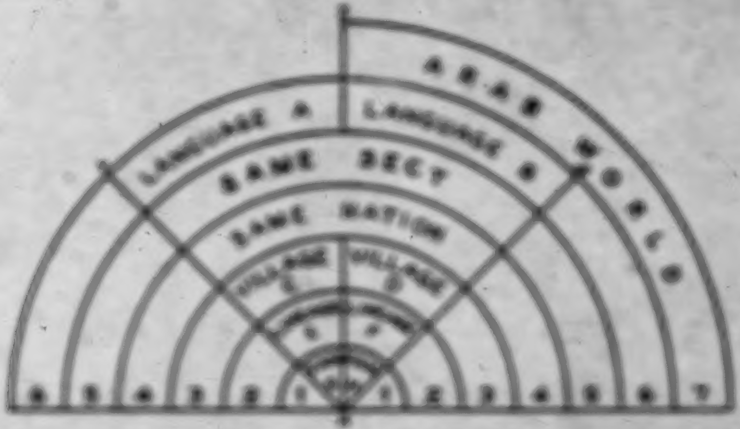
ARAB WORLD
LANGUAGE A
LANGUAGE B
SAME SECT
SAME NATION
VILLAGE C
VILLAGE D
6
5
4
3
2
1
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

FIG. 12. ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAM OF SPHERES

therefore to some extent flexible. In the case of Lebanon, as noted before, Spheres 4 and 5 must be reversed in order, since Lebanon is a nation which is undeniably segmented into religious groups.

The segmentalization of in-groups in the Middle East can be looked upon as

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a cultural system, developed through a long, complex history, which enables the individual to define with which one of several in-groups he may identify himself actively, as the need arises. To put it another way, the culture contains certain values and sentiments which demand of the individual that he unite firmly with one of several in-groups under a given set of circumstances. The dynamics of the system viewed as a whole are characterized by a constant fluctuation in the size and type of active in-groups. At one moment groups A and B may be bitterly opposed; alter the situation in one way or another, and they are found to be either neutral or firmly united as a larger unit in opposition to another one of comparable size. This is Evans-Pritchard's principle of "balanced antagonisms" at work. 154 571

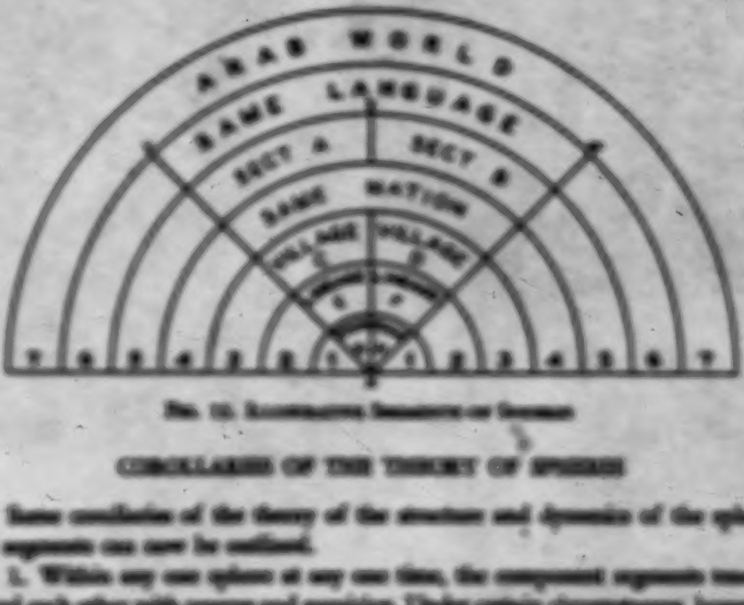

FIG. 13. ILLUSTRATIVE SEGMENTS OF SPHERES

COROLLARIES OF THE THEORY OF SPHERES

Some corollaries of the theory of the structure and dynamics of the spheres and segments can now be outlined.

1. Within any one sphere at any one time, the component segments tend to regard each other with reserve and suspicion. Under certain circumstances, however, the segments of a sphere may unite against another unit. This illustrates the principle of balanced antagonisms and of segmentation of in-groups. 154 571 176

For example, two lineages in a certain village which are accustomed to feuding with each other will unite when the village as a unit quarrels with another village. An historical example of a different order, but on the same principle, was the coalition of the Druzes and Maronites against the Mamluks. The Arab League is a notable modern example of the same thing. It represents an effort to unite a number of Sphere 4 segments as a single in-group for the purpose of achieving more effective action on problems which have been raised by outsiders. The difficulties which the League has had in accomplishing its goals are due in large measure

184 571 ure to the difficulty of overcoming the many differences which have heretofore set the component segments apart from, and sometimes against, each other.

186 [582] 2. The criterion by which each sphere is defined generally includes the preference that marriages be contracted between members of the same segment. This is of particular significance in regard to kinship, local, and religious segments. It is an effective means of maintaining the clear-cut identity of these segments.

It is probably a safe generalization that the more highly an individual values an in-group, the more likely is he to marry within it. As was noted in the chapter "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns," the Muslim preference for a man's marrying his *bint 'amm* can be interpreted as being the preference for marrying the closest (ipso facto the best) possible relative without committing incest. Similarly, if conditions arise which tend to shift an individual's in-group interests outward (or inward), there will be a corresponding tendency for the field of choice of marriage partner to expand (or contract). The recent increase in the number of exogamous marriages among the Munsifis can be interpreted as an index of a widening (to some extent) of in-group boundaries on the part of the villagers. In other words, with the rise of nationalism, the Sphere 4 segment has become an actively valued in-group, and this has to some extent relaxed the in-group intensity of the Sphere 3 segment.

3. The cohesion of specific, stable, social units is commonly reinforced by the operation of several sphere criteria coterminously. The Armenian community in and around Beirut, for instance, is a segment not only in terms of language (Sphere 6), but also in terms of religion (Sphere 5). Yemen is a nation (Sphere 4), a Shi'ah enclave (Sphere 5), and it has its own distinct Arabic dialect (Sphere 6). This particular phenomenon, combined with segmentalization and the working of balanced antagonisms, would appear to be the basis of Richardson's concept of "house" and "courtyard" areas in the Middle East (1949, p. 468), and of Speiser's concept of ethnemes (1953).

[563] 4. Small segments of any sphere, often exhibiting the reinforcement factor outlined in the third point, *frequently* constitute occupational specialty groups in situations or places (such as cities) where their sphere and segment status is distinct from those of others with whom they interact. A family of Jewish goldsmiths in Algiers, or Cairo, or Baghdad is a single segment defined in terms of family, lineage, and religion. This is Coon's ethnic division of labor in very close form.

It should also be remembered that many more occupational units are segments defined by family and lineage status only. Familiar examples are the shop which is owned and operated by a family and the family or lineage of merchants or bankers who cooperate closely.

184 571 563 5. Occasionally, certain families or lineages increase in size and power to such a degree that they transcend the bounds of their original local groups. Absentee landlords, regionally powerful amirs, and dynastic families illustrate this situation. As examples of the last two we may cite the family and lineage of Muhammad,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon [redacted]

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the Ma'n and Shihab lineages which ruled Lebanon during the late sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, and the present-day Hashim and Sa'ud lineages. 184 571 60

ARAB CITY DWELLERS

The Arab city is a conglomeration of spheres and segments, but it is not, in itself, a cohesive social unit, an in-group. The majority of city dwellers are people who have gathered there for the primary purpose of engaging in commerce. Their loyalties are to their own families (Sphere 1 segment), to their home village (Sphere 3 segment) if they maintain contact with it, and to their religion (Sphere 5 segment) which may or may not be in a local minority. It is for this reason that the Western observer often finds the Arab city so confusing and chaotic, and why he is apt to comment that city people seem completely to lack civic consciousness. The truth is that their loyalties, though very real, are many rather than one—and none of them is directed toward the city itself. 184 571 621 369

Two factors appear to be operative in this phenomenon. One is the process discussed under the fourth point above. The other is the organization of the traditional Arab city into separate quarters (*hara*) which seem to have been essentially Sphere 3 segments in an urban setting. This has been written about by Gibb and Bowen (1950, pp. 277–79), and it is probable that it has left its mark on the most modern Arab cities. It remains in full force in the present-day, but still semi-desert, city of Timbuctoo which has recently been described and analyzed by Horace Miner (1953). Although Timbuctoo is so far out on the periphery of the Middle East that many people would doubtless say that it cannot be considered as part of it, nevertheless it has been heavily influenced by Arab culture and strongly colonized by Arabs.

Because multiple group loyalties remain intact in the city, the majority of Middle East city dwellers do not seem to develop the kind of *anomie* which is frequently encountered among urban dwellers in the West who have neither established satisfactory group identifications in the city nor retained strong identification with their families or "home towns."

At this point, however, we encounter a complication which involves a matter [178] of considerable socio-psychological importance. Middle East cities, because of their primary function as centers of trade, have always been points of culture contact with its attendant variety and confusion. The present era of intensive acculturation has followed the expected pattern, with foreigners concentrating in the cities and new culture elements being established first in the cities, gradually to be diffused to smaller communities.

This circumstance has led to the development in many city-dwelling individuals of a complex of personality traits which has been labeled "Levantine" by a number of authors. This label, which is often employed with invidious connotations, is unfortunate because the word itself basically means, with no judgment 184 571 621 369 160

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon [redacted]

Middle East M1

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571 implied, anything pertaining to the Levant. Furthermore, the use of the term as a blanket label has tended to obscure the distinction between what are essentially
621 two very different personality types. The confusion is quite understandable since
369 there undoubtedly are individuals who reflect both types in their behavior. But the
156 genesis and cultural significance of each one is different, and it is important that they be clearly distinguished.

The first type of individual has been traditionally, and still is today, common in city populations, and his personality traits are a result of the fact that he has become adept at interacting successfully with members of many different segments of all spheres as well as with foreigners. Consequently his behavior is flexible, and his ethical standards are geared to frequent shifts in group interaction patterns. It is not surprising, therefore, that Western observers tend to assume that his behavior is utterly unreliable and opportunistic, since Western observers are outside all the in-groups of the culture. It cannot be assumed, however, that such a person is not loyal to any social groups at all. Actually, on the contrary, the probability is that he is a member of a segment in each sphere, and that his behavior within any segment, and between segments, conforms to the normal expectations of his culture. Putting the matter in a different way, this individual was enculturated in terms of the culture of spheres and segments, and he remains well adjusted to this culture. At the same time, however, he has adapted himself to the exigencies of urban environment.

Altogether different is the second personality type which is described by Hourani:

> To be a Levantine is to live in two worlds or more at once, without belonging to either; to be able to go through the external forms which indicate the possession of a certain nationality, religion or culture, without actually possessing it. It is no longer to have a standard of values of one's own, not to be able to create but only to imitate; and so not even to imitate correctly, since that also needs a certain originality. It is to belong to no community and to possess nothing of one's own. It reveals itself in lostness, pretentiousness, cynicism, and despair. (1946, pp. 70-71.)

Because of excessively intense acculturative influences, which are all too common at the present time, this individual has become anomic. In terms of the present analysis, he has lost the sense of social and psychological identification with all or most of the in-groups, which provides much of the meaning and direction to life in the Middle East. At the same time, he has not been able to achieve satisfactory identification with any other cultural elements or social groups.

178 Insofar as the development of anomic personalities can be associated with
369 rapid and intense acculturation, there is a real danger in the process of the diffusion of new culture elements into rural areas:

> The existence of the closed communities of the past was inseparably linked

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon [redacted]

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> with the feudal or village economy. Now better communications are linking regions 178 and villages with one another and changing the whole organisation of rural life. 369 What is even more important, an urban industrial and commercial life is developing with the necessary individualism of urban life. These factors are weakening the strength of communal loyalties. (Hourani, 1947, p. 30.)

To the extent that this is true, there is good reason to look upon constructive nationalism as a healthy sign of group morale of a newer sort. Nationalism alone, however, cannot be a satisfactory substitute for the securities and pleasures of identification with smaller groups of the types which have been discussed previously.

It now remains to consider the specific status of al-Munsif in the mosaic system, in the concept of spheres, and to see how it weighs in the delicate balance of acculturation.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

621

THE PLACE OF MUNSIF IN THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES

MUNSIF as a village is a particular segment of Sphere 3 (Local Group). We have seen that endogamy tends to be characteristic of the less inclusive spheres and segments, in particular. We have also seen, however, that a certain number of Munsifis have *always* married not within the village itself but within the immediately surrounding district, al-Qurni. Must this be considered a violation of the principle of local endogamy in the traditional culture of the village?

Until recently, the tendency among most anthropologists has been to consider endogamy primarily as marriage within a certain defined kin group (cf. Lowie, 1948, p. 9). Munsif, as we have seen, is a defined kin group, and therefore, from this point of view, any marriage outside it must be exogamous. Al-Qurni, considered as a unit, is *not* a single kin group, for although innumerable matrilateral ties extend between the villages, each village has its own, exclusive patrilines. However, Lévi-Strauss (1949, pp. 56-60) has made a very useful distinction between what he calls "true" endogamy and "functional" endogamy. The former is the one which concerns us here: "True endogamy is only the refusal to recognize the possibility of marriage outside the human community, the latter being subject to very diverse definitions, according to the philosophy of the group considered." (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 57; our translation.) He goes on to say that the "human community" may be a whole tribe outside which everyone is considered to be inhuman, or it may simply be the community as defined by them, in which the persons concerned live (*ibid.*, p. 58). It is this second alternative which applies to the entire Qurni as a unit, in the minds of the members of its several villages. Unquestionably, each village is a stronger and more cohesive unit in itself than is al-Qurni as a unit. However, it was made quite clear to the writer by various Munsifis that although members of other Qurni villages were, strictly speaking, outsiders to Munsif itself, they were emphatically not strangers (*gharib*). In this instance, the distinction between technical outsiders and strangers is a significant one. Between the various Qurni villages there are not only many matrilateral kin ties, but there are close friendships and frequent visiting. Al-Qurni is very small—its entire extent is visible from its physical center, Munsif, which is also the predominant village in it. *As* a secluded, conceptually unified district, al-Qurni is something more than an agglomeration of local units (Sphere 3). It is, in itself, a local unit of a sort, though admittedly more diffuse than a single village. In addition to this, al-Qurni is also a discrete example of Sphere 5 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox enclave in a Maronite area. 621

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, in the light of Lévi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the special nature of al-Qurni, the marriages of Munsifiin to members of other Qurni villages are considered to be locally endogamous. Let it be remembered, also, that such marriages, though traditional, have always been in the minority, for most Munsifiin have always married each other.

The culture of Munsif therefore conforms to the sphere scheme in these two respects: (1) It is an endogamous local group (Sphere 3), within a, shall we say, secondary endogamous local group, al-Qurni, which surrounds it and of which it is the cultural center. (2) Al-Qurni, a district of very restricted size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 5).

When we turn to the internal segmentation of Munsif, we find that it is, according to the expectation of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—retains functional significance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether primarily nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage exogamy, rather than endogamy, is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relatives who ordinarily constitute extended families is explicitly against the Church rules of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectation in that they are not ideally endogamous. 621 613 592

The extended family exogamy rule in Munsif has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion at this point is not necessary. Suffice it to repeat only that it is viewed as the product of an earlier acculturation, the contact between pagan Arabs and Christianity, during which process the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Spencer, 1952, p. 487) gave way to the Christian rule against it. We can now, however, look upon this matter in another way. We can say that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed in the interests of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 5 (Sect); and Munsif's Sphere 5 status is particularly keenly felt because an opposing sect presses so closely around it.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually no specific rule, does not appear really to be a violation of the lineage endogamy principle, when it is considered in full context. In this, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamy *does* occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 3. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference
613 for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in
582 the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a limitation of lineage waqf's (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Munsifis to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Munsif as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE: CONCLUSION

178 During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought
192 severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "ma-
571 terial culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1950, p. 190), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing configurations of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

figuration of very far-reaching significance. We have found that while for the area 178
as a whole, certain disruptions in these patterns have occurred and more are 182
threatening, they have remained remarkably vigorous in Munsif. Why? 571

We can now, at last, propose an answer to this question: In-group values and behavior in Munsif have remained forceful and alive because the village itself represents not just one of the structural spheres of the Middle East, but three of them, interlocking, and mutually supporting. In Munsif, Sphere 2 (Lineage) and 3 (Local Group) are coterminous, and these two are virtually coterminous with Sphere 5 (Sect). Each one of these spheres involves some of the most deep-seated and cherished values of Arab culture. The integration of three of them creates a cultural configuration which is highly resistant to change.

Such a structure cannot easily be undermined by direct attack. The increasing trend of village exogamy, for example—a violation of a well-established rule—does not seem to be associated with any devaluation of the village as an in-group, and so this behavior *in itself* is not, or has not so far been, a direct threat to the integrity of the village. However, *if* a new generation developed under urban acculturative influences, in which a large number of individuals were cut off from the affective ties and the values of the village and also prevented from developing new ties and values—if, in other words, a large number of village members developed anomic personalities—then the integrity of the village would very definitely be weakened because the values which now give, and always have given, rationale to its structure, would have ceased to be effective.

* * * * * * * *

Knowledge is gained by asking questions and then seeking the answers to 580 them. We began with a question. We have concluded with an answer; but this is an answer which is neither perfect in itself, nor is it complete, for it leads to a further question which we cannot answer here, but with which it is fitting that this work be ended.

In Hourani's words (1946, p. 70), how will it be possible for the villagers "by preserving or modifying the old and accepting what is new, once more to form a unified world of thought and life which they can call their own?"

[Munsif?]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 THE group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the bakeries in the village has a professional baker and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeil, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the *Affiliate* Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

These members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one allied tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

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5[illegible] The *[illegible]* are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Munsif every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of this single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village [illegible] there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at [illegible]. Also from [illegible] is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and is known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at [illegible] with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkiyi* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

[illegible] The *Mitwali* (designation of the Lebanese Shi'a Muslims) consist of three house-

[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeil on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of [illegible] (northward and inland from Batrun) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G. 621 563

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they call each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians. [[illegible]]

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Watanis, and the [illegible] are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations." [[illegible]]

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox worker family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities. [[illegible]]

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

[Munsif]

621 563 [222] of the Wanderers and the Mitwali as groups. The Wanderers are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Wanderers like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The Badu furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

[567] The Mitwali are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mitwali as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mitwali, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the fields or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or launderers. The [561] children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular case. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, so far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

621 563 571

402 It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of these was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

[Munsif]

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large bundles slung over their shoulders, singing cheerfully. "They do not speak Arabic," said our informant, "and you always see the women only because these women, all together, are the wives of one man. They beg, and he does nothing." 195

Also in the beggar class are men with performing bears or monkeys, and, in particular, troupes consisting of a girl of any age between ten and twenty and usually two, somewhat older, men. The girl does a shimmy dance accompanied by the men, one of whom beats a drum, while the other usually plays a long, stringed instrument called *[illegible]*. The villagers call them *[illegible]* because they all are supposed to come from *[illegible]*, and they regard them as pests to be got rid of as quickly as possible. The beggars are a group which is definitely stigmatized by the villagers.

APPENDIX B: TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC PHONEMES

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A fairly standard system of transliteration has been developed for Classical Arabic, which can be employed without comment. However no Arab uses Classical Arabic in his daily life, and this work is concerned with the events of daily life. It is therefore necessary to employ a set of symbols which is suitable for the needs at hand.

In general, the various Arabic dialects adhere fairly well to classical usage in the long series of consonant phonemes. What usually occurs is that some are ignored, in phonetically systematic fashion, and there is also a tendency to eliminate, by addition or omission, the consonant clusters which occur in Classical Arabic. Those which remain, however, and they are the majority, are generally pronounced in accordance with classical rules. The same can be said, in general, of the three long vowels, equivalents of which are given in the Arabic alphabet. The chief difficulty is encountered in the three short vowels, not noted in ordinary writing, one of which is regularly combined with ي and with و to form two additional phonemes. Dialectical variation in this series is great, frequently involving the complete omission of one or another of the three simple phonemes in question. Moreover, individuals tend to be casual in their pronunciation of them. For example, a Lebanese will say that it is correct to call his country either Libnaan or Lubnaan. He does either, and may even say both in the same sentence. In linguistic terms, it is in the short vowels and related diphthongs that the greatest number of allophones occurs, and where dialectical variations are very apparent.

The system of transliteration used in this work is intended to be reasonably accurate phonetically, to avoid undue pretentiousness, and, withal, to permit the reader to pronounce the words correctly without first having to master a complicated and esoteric system of symbols. In the text, Arabic words are rendered in the Munsif dialect which is less at variance with the classical than many others. In a few cases, the Classical Arabic form is added in parentheses, using the Arabic alphabet.

7: [illegible] E-3 (1952) 1939 ME; Lebanese ME;

L.
104
ME
104

Symbol *	Value, where not sufficiently clear from English	Arabic Letter	Lebanese Variations
b		ب	
m		م	
f		ف	
th	as in think	ث	s
[illegible]		[illegible]	
dh	as in this	ذ	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]	dental l	[illegible]	
[illegible]	dental roll	[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
sh		ش	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
j	as in azure	ج	
ṭ	velarized t	ط	
ḍ	velarized d	ض	
ṣ	velarized s	ص	
ẓ	velarized z	ظ	z
k		ك	
kh	velar voiceless spirant	خ	
gh	velar voiced spirant	غ	
q	uvular voiceless stop	ق	Sometimes ʾ
h		ه	
ḥ	pharyngeal voiceless spirant	ح	
ʿ	pharyngeal voiced spirant	ع	
ʾ	glottal stop	ء	
aa	as in [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ii	as in [illegible]	[illegible]	
uu	as in [illegible]	[illegible]	
a	as in [illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]
i	as in [illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible]	
u	as in [illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible]	
ay	similar to [illegible]	[illegible]	
aw	similar to [illegible]	[illegible]	

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* The consonant phonemes are arranged in phonetic order of formation from the front of the mouth backwards; they are not in the proper order of the Arabic alphabet.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1. *Al-Munsif and [illegible]*

Top. View of [illegible] from the road leading to the main village. [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] cultivated for [illegible]. *Bottom*, Al-Munsif from the south.

Plate 2. *The New Automobile Road, and an Old Path in the Village*

Top. The road at [illegible]. *Bottom*, A stony path between the houses in the village.

Plate 3. *Villagers*

Top. A group of [illegible]. *Bottom*, The priest stands [illegible], with his younger son ([illegible]), and two other villagers.

Plate 4. *House Types: Old Style*

Top. Typical old-style house with two levels, the lower used as a stable or for storage, the roof forming a terrace for the main part of the house. Note the [illegible] ([illegible]) on the terrace. *Bottom*, A more elaborate house of the old style.

Plate 5. *House Types: The Red Tile Roof Style*

Top. House typical of the period [illegible]. To the right, two old-style houses, one roofless and abandoned. *Bottom*, A more elaborate version of the red tile roof style. The triple arch, either in arcades or windows, is a recurrent motif in Lebanese architecture.

Plate 6. *House Types: Modern*

Newly built house with window glass and flat cement roof. Mulberry trees in the foreground. [illegible] section of the village.

Plate 7. *The Church and Two Stores*

Top. The church, Mar [illegible]. Old-style house at the right. *Bottom*, Two stores in [illegible].

Plate 8. *The Schools*

Top. The government school, erected about [illegible]. *Bottom*, The "national" (parochial) school. The recently built second story is occupied by the schoolmaster and his family. The building and the balcony at the left are also owned by him.

Plate 9. *Mar [illegible] Shrine*

Top. Exterior view of Mar [illegible]. *Bottom*, Interior of Mar [illegible].

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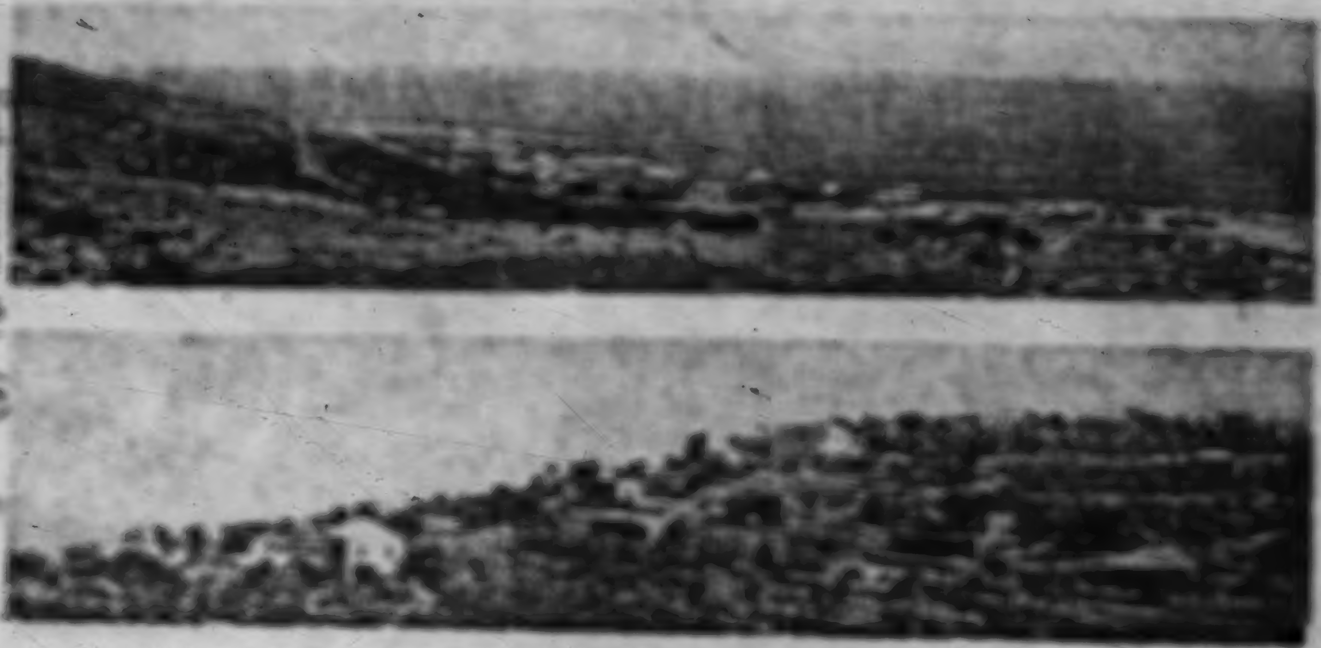

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